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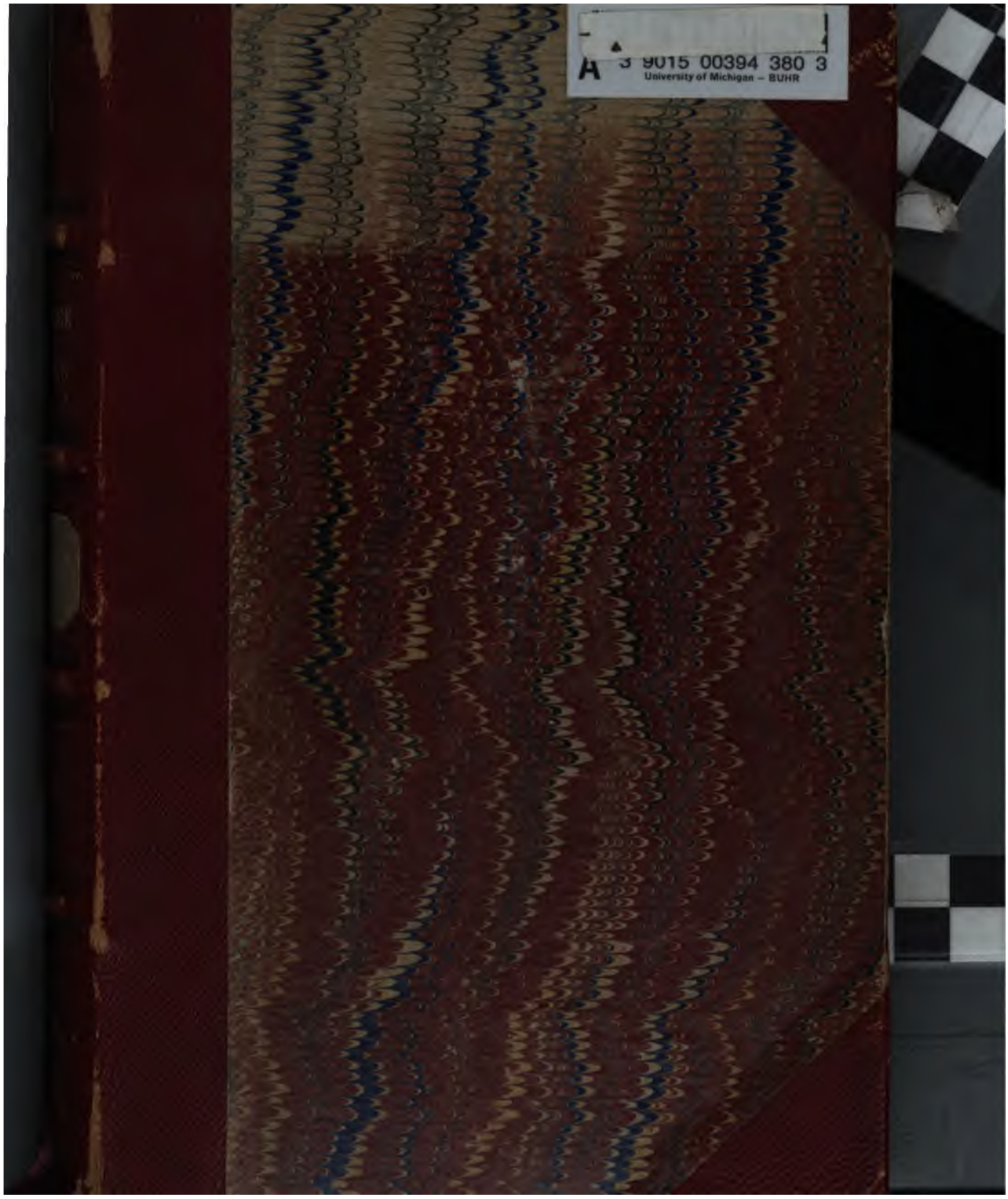
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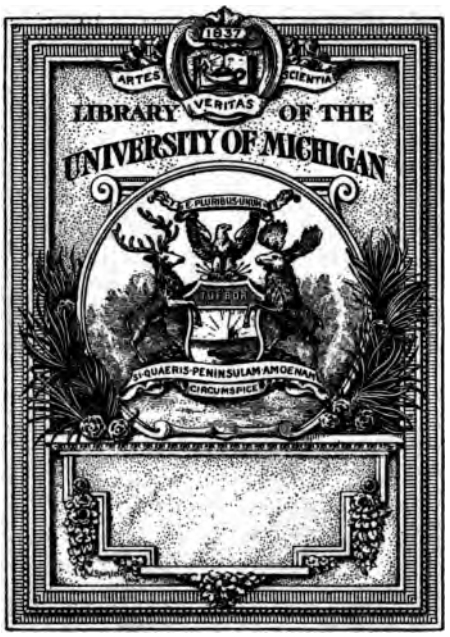
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CAMBRIDGE ESSAYS.

NEWSPAPERS AND THEIR WRITERS.

PARADOXICAL as the assertion may at first sight seem, I believe that, in spite of all which has been written, said, and thought upon journalism for many years past, the subject has seldom or never been presented in a practical way to the general public, and, as necessarily follows, it has still less been comprehended in a practical way by them. Putting aside works which deal with the anecdote, and not the philosophy of newspapers, we shall generally find that writers on the subject are either adulators in heroics, or detractors in expletives. Journalism is either the fourth estate, the Palladium of our liberties and so forth, or else a mercenary and corrupt press, a midnight assassin, a ruffian that stabs in the dark. For my own part, I shall start without any set oration upon the value of free journalism; but, assuming it to be a fact for England, I shall as simply as I can call attention to some of its actual features, and endeavour to found a few inferences upon them, which may have some value in proportion as they have a real, and not a theoretic basis.

The aspect with which all but the few initiated—even persons of high intelligence and varied education—still regard the sheet which comes to cheer their daily breakfast, is more akin to the confused veneration with which a Red Indian may be supposed to have regarded the first train which whistled through his woods, than to any sensation otherwise familiar to the civilized world. The reader, according to his temperament, regards the paper either as a celestial visitant or the reverse; but whichever character in his estimation preponderates, still the *Daily Bugle*, or the *Morning Remembrancer*, comes to him as no handiwork of mortal man; nothing that we can realize

can account for its powers of moving mountains and picking up pins—no ordinary laws of nature can explain how in adjacent columns the debate, which did not close five hours before, is both reported and commented on, and tidings up to the last month are prodigally showered of the state of the gold-find upon the Frazer river. Yet while the newspapers occupy their throne of fetish adoration, the factors of the product, the living men to whom we are indebted for the wonderful result, are ordinarily—systematically I might almost say—deprived in English society of that position which the honourable responsibilities of their profession demand from the national chivalry, and the varied power of their intellect claims from the national comprehension. In proportion as the journal is exalted, the journalist is depressed. There is, however, nothing strange in this seeming paradox. The journal is not appreciated with reasonable admiration as a machine marvellously contrived and nobly worked; it is adored, with stupid self-abasement, as a standing miracle, whose actions are independent of, if not antagonist to, the mediate agency of man. Had the worthy men of Kent, who from Rochester and from Tenterden, and many another flourishing town, left their clothworks, and their iron forges, and their retail commerce, to fall down before the Rood of Boxley, been told that they were visiting a rare automaton, they would perhaps not have stirred themselves so featly to make the pilgrimage; but they would, as sensible men, have acknowledged the mechanical skill which had perfected and kept in use the cunning contrivance. But they imagined themselves in face of a miracle; and so, as long as they were deceived, they underrated, and, after their eyes had been opened, they overhated, the men who managed the juggle, and they blamed loudly all persons concerned except themselves for having been cajoled. Our newspapers, to be sure, do not formally pretend to supernatural powers. But the world as good as assumes their existence in defence of its own unreal position before the shrines of its self-constituted idolatry. My object accordingly is to endeavour to substitute a reasonable for an irrational *cultus* of journalism, to strip the concrete *Bugle*, or *Remembrancer*, of the glittering robes which cover the wheels and springs on which its motion depends, and to hold up to the just praise of their countrymen that generally meritorious and hardworking as well as able class—the writers in our free periodical press.

In itself, apart from the functions of its literati, by which I include the writers, reporters, and compilers, there is nothing in a newspaper more exalted (although maybe more wonderful

in the physical qualities of swiftness and magnitude) than in any other commercial speculation—the grocer who serves you in a white apron has indirectly to range China for his teas and the West Indies for his coffees, Greece for his currants and the Eastern Sea for his pepper, Jamaica for sugar, Asia Minor for figs; what more does the man who publishes the newspaper? He caters mind, not matter, and the mind is the contribution of the writers. To be plain, every newspaper is in one of its aspects a commercial speculation; and, however much it may have been established to uphold any particular line of opinions—political, religious, artistic, or financial—the intention exists that it shall, by the propagation of those opinions, subserve the legitimate profit of its proprietors. This is an invariable fact, and is in accordance with the common law of society. Of course many papers are, to the more impartial judgment of bystanders, insane speculations; but the cases in which a paper is kept up for any continuous period in a condition of artificial life by the subsidies of honest and opulent propagandists, having their eyes open to the improbability of any ultimate return, are the exceptions which prove the rule. Such phenomena no more show the non-commercial character of newspaper ownership than the records of amateur farming establish that the cultivator of the soil does not try to square his account on the profit side. Indeed, my illustration understates the case, for the paper goes on professing to pay its way, and any open confession to the contrary would ruin all influence that its opinions might gain beyond the circle which already believed in them. In its commercial phase a newspaper is a wonderful spectacle, just as a cotton mill is, for nearly the same reasons, and under nearly the same outward conditions. The tourist enters the mill-yard, and his admiration is arrested by the huge bulk of the solid, lofty buildings which face him. He enters one, and the myriad wheels revolving in every direction confuse his sight; the ponderous steam-engine, neat as a lady's workbox, and potent as a host of Cyclopes, possesses him with the conviction of power. The spectacle of that which is in one floor the fleecy lining of a pod, coming out in the other the material of human raiment, recalls the transformations of legendary necromancy. The hundreds of operatives moving to and fro with the precision of a drilled battalion, fulfil his ideas of order and discipline. But still, if he is of a philosophic turn, he walks away pondering the fact that the wonders which he has seen should be what his books tell him are of the nature of material and not moral greatness. He returns to London and again gratifies his love of sight-seeing by a nocturnal visit to the

office of a daily newspaper. There he finds buildings no way equal in size to the Lancashire mill, but yet roomy and intricate; there, too, the engine plies its work, and the troops of artisans are at their various tasks. The frequent slamming of the door announces the telegram from all the quarters of the globe, or else the reporters, hot with their successive sections of the great speech of some great night. The compositors build up sentences of striking narratives—the whole multitudinous journal—with the rapidity of the elves that laboured for Michael Scot—day dawns, and still more rapidly the engine gives birth to their nimble exertions in thousands of printed copies. But the heart of the system is not the engine, but the man who is sitting in the quietest corner of the edifice, remotest from its hurly-burly—a staid individual, pale with toil and sleeplessness, with his shaded lamp before him—the much dreaded and mysterious editor. Our analytic visitor quits this spectacle, and he calls it an example of moral grandeur. Why so? Because in the cotton mill the daily result to be attained is the arithmetical triumph of producing so much of a certain substance, the use of which belongs to the animal and not the moral part of man, while in the newspaper office the daily product consists in diversified aliment for the mind of humanity. This distinction between the material value of a cotton mill, and the moral one of a newspaper office, is of course in reality superficial. In the inner essence of things the former is just as much a moral triumph of man's mind as the latter. The steam-engine, with its manifold capacities, is a glorious triumph of intelligence; so, too, to give the twilight efforts of the world's young life their due praise, is the rudimental notion of turning the cotton pod to the use of dress, by however rough and tardy a process. But granting the essential unsoundness of the distinction, the practical difference in the character of the two daily productions is palpable, and justifies the claim which I urge that, so far as there is any theoretic divinity in a newspaper above any other manufactured article, the credit of that superiority is due to the writers, and not to any impalpable personification of an ideal 'newspaper.'

In defiance, however, of this—I should have thought, manifest—fact, the popular estimation of the position of journalists partakes of that exaggeration on both sides which is natural to the conception of all half-appreciated facts. The gentleman of the press is at once greater and more mighty, and also more obscure and impotent than the representative of any other profession. The power possessed, and the emolument realized

by the authors of dashing leading articles, are subjects of the most absurd misapprehension. I remember, on one occasion, a Member of Parliament gravely informing me, on "certain" authority, that there were—I forget how many—writers constantly retained to furnish the leading articles of one distinguished paper, and that upon every topic every sort of competition was established, out of which the approved article was drawn; but that no one was allowed to write on the subject upon which he was personally strongest, for fear of his carrying too much feeling into it. On the other hand, when the temper of any seigneur, or the vanity of any fine lady, happens to be ruffled by a telling article, the consolation greedily proffered and swallowed with avidity, is, that it is only the 'vulgar spite of some low penny-a-liner'—the penny-a-liner occupying the position of Puck in the mythic tradition, small and contemptible in himself, but ubiquitous and all-powerful in mischief. Indeed, there is something about both aspects of the journalist which is what our superstitious neighbours of the north would term 'uncanny.' The periodical writer, whether in his nobler or his baser aspect, is a Child of the Mist. The savour of the Scandinavian pantheon clings to him. He is either the demigod lapping up the deep sea, wrestling with the serpent that encircles the world, and trying a fall with Old Age, or else he is the cross-grained, spiteful dwarf, wrinkled and yellow, handy in proportion to his diminutiveness, and crafty as he is repulsive. In neither the one case nor the other do we trace in his lineaments the perfections or the shortcomings of mortal man, such as we of middle earth know ourselves to be. Still less do the prejudiced classes of society habitually accustom themselves to regard the journalist as such, by virtue of his profession, in the light of a 'gentleman,' as one of that untitled *noblesse* which exists, with more or less completeness, in all civilized countries, upon a social footing of equality.

Hence follows the as yet very incomplete recognition of journalism as an open profession—as one of those recognised means of gaining a livelihood which naturally occur to the young man of family equally with the army, the navy, a public office, or holy orders. Till this, the correct, test of the comparative social status of a profession is attained in this most aristocratic of nations, I shall not be satisfied; and it is accordingly in its behalf that I now raise my voice. In so doing, I am far from wishing it to be supposed that I consider journalism to be the only liberal profession which has not yet taken its due place within the charmed ring. Quite the reverse; there are many others, the frank and cheerful accep-

tance of which, as possibilities for their offspring, by our Peerage, would tend more to establish that Peerage in the confidence and respect of the sensible professional (not to call them by that too-fashionable misnomer, the 'middle') classes, than many a more high-flown, but less practical, scheme of social revolution. This advantage is independent of the obvious pecuniary interest which such persons ought to feel in the enlargement in their behalf of the area of honourable livelihoods. To come to the point, I am anxious for the day when a Lord William can take his M.D. degree, a Lord George be admitted attorney-at-law and solicitor in the High Court of Chancery, a Lord Edward become a painter, and a Lord Thomas sign his articles to a civil engineer or architect. But while these already recognised, though not yet ennobled, professions are thrown open, that of a journalist must, in the best interests of the commonwealth, pass at once and *per saltum* through the two stages, and take its place among those which are within the province of a strong intellect and a determined will, whatever be the rank of the man who possesses those qualifications.

There is, as will probably have occurred to many of our readers, one notable exception to the anonymousness, and non-identity of journalists in the case of special correspondents sent by leading papers to chronicle great wars and dazzling pageants. Not only do these gentlemen take care to impress upon their readers the ontology of the person who guides the pen that tells of the event,—not only do the dinners they eat, the beds they sleep in, and the vermin they are tormented with, form a not inconsiderable portion of the recurring letter,—but, after it is all over, the flimsy mask is thrown aside, and the volume appears by Mr. * * *, the special correspondent of the * * *. But in this case *exceptio probat regulam*, the innovation is of recent date; and it arises, I should imagine, not so much from the willing concession of the journal, as from the insubordinate daring of the writers themselves, who, conscious of their real power, and unawed through distance by the glare of the Demogorgon whose ministers they are, have fairly kicked over the traces, and made the terms for themselves on which they consent to be employed on such exceptional errands. But the very fact of the strong contrast existing between these cases and that of not only the writers of leading articles, but even of the indefatigable, intelligent, omniscient, or omni-pretendent regular correspondents at foreign capitals, indicates how deeply-rooted is that popular feeling against which they have directed so rude a first stroke.

My present business being with facts as they are, I shall

not discuss why authorship in periodicals which, appearing at rarer intervals than newspapers, wear more the outward appearance of books—viz., reviews and magazines—is confessed (even when anonymous) more freely, and boasted of more publicly, although the subject-matter of the respective compositions may deal with topics full as delicate as any which leading articles treat of. The cause of this difference lies probably on the surface, and arises simply from the fact that the high literary character of newspapers is a plant of more recent growth, than the similar merit of magazines. The early relations between Cave gorging at the table and Johnson dining behind the screen in his ragged clothes, and indeed the annals of Grub-street in general, indicate what was the social status of the reviewer and magazine writer in the early part of last century. Viewed in this light, the present aspect of the matter affords the broadest grounds for hope that the journalist of future years will ere long make good his position, as the reviewer has already done.

The practical result of the false system of depreciating the journalist is, as I started with saying, to exalt the concrete journal to an illegitimate height of influence. But I contend that it carries with it corresponding damage to the *morale* of the writer himself. No doubt, in every profession to which, in any degree, the social ostracism is applied, the same undesirable result ensues. To take the working branch of the law: would the popular reputation attached to the name *attorney* have grown up to, at all events, its present extent, if not for the obnoxious exclusiveness? No one will dare to say it would. Every man who has mingled much with his fellows in the avocations of an active life will be able to run off on his fingers the names of a multitude of "attorneys" of the highest personal excellence and social position, combined with all the keenness which ought rightfully to characterize their profession. He will be conscious that every one of these gentlemen acutely feels (although he may never have dared to enter on the topic with him) not only the disgrace brought upon his own profession by its unworthy members, but the injury which this atmosphere of suspicion inflicts on society at large, which, in its present artificial condition, can no more exist without closet lawyers (whether you please to call them attorneys, solicitors, and proctors, or notaries and *avoués*) than it can exist without physicians or soldiers. Those squires, however, are as yet in the minority who have not only reached the point of acknowledging the theoretical truth of this proposition, but who have courage to take the next step. In many cases he would be a bold monitor who dared jog

his rural magnate's elbow, and observe, that if his progenitor, instead of having sent his brother off to Jamaica to fall a prey to yellow fever in a red coat, or if he himself, instead of having left his youngest son to grumble, in a blue coat, at the slowness with which promotion flowed from the Admiralty, had bound the one or the other to the honourable profession of the law, there would have been no need the year before, when the respectable old attorney at the next town died, for his business to have been taken up by that vulgar and unscrupulous London 'gent,' hot from the office of Messrs. Quirk, Gammon, and Snap. The growl of indignation at Jack's so demeaning himself would probably not be appeased even by the pertinent remark, that the villa which Mr. Pumice inhabited was a rather more comfortable abode than the parsonage attached to the family living, and that the price paid down for the business—and with borrowed money too—showed the probabilities of an income considerably greater than any pay which would accrue, even upon the distant contingency of the much longed-for promotion. And yet the attorney's and solicitor's profession is a recognised one; all its members are formally admitted to their craft; and their names are recorded on their door-plates and entered in the *Law List;* while, on the other hand, writing in the newspaper press—an occupation which has, in the course of events, become an equal necessity of society—still lurks in a half-ashamed obscurity; its limits are still inscrutable; its morality is still questioned; and its influence is most strongly denied by those who feel it the most sharply.

How is this to be remedied? The most obvious, the roughest, and the readiest way, we shall be told, is to be found in lifting the veil of anonymousness—in making our journalists universally subscribe their names to their contributions. To the consideration, then, of anonymous *versus* signed journalism, I now direct my attention; and if my conclusion tends to show that, rough and ready as it may be, it is yet the least desirable, if not the least possible, I shall only have added one more illustration to the wise apophthegm, that the shortest way home is often the longest way round. The question—to begin from the beginning—may be divided into the lawfulness in a moral, and the expediency in a social, aspect of anonymous writing as the rule of public journals. The vigour with which the negative side has been maintained by those who are strangers to any desire of raising the social and public position of journalists as such, is, I think, in no little degree attributable to the ease with which the stock phrases on that side of the question may be marshalled, and

the imposing effect which they produce when on parade. 'Anonymous assassination,' 'stabbing in the dark,' 'drugging the cup in the solitude of night,' all suggest Salvatoresque pictures, which a very slight skill in word-handling may work up into a telling argument. But this method of discussion is all wide of the real subject; which, viewed in its relation to the writees—'the general public'—is a mere question of arithmetical probabilities. It is not more pleasant to be slaughtered by the churchwarden of one's parish than by an unknown stranger in a crape mask. A stab at noon smarts as sorely as if inflicted by moonlight. If you are to be poisoned, you may as well not assist at the fatal druggery. All these declamatory protests mean, in plain English, that if the law enacted, as in France, that somebody's name must stand at the end of everybody's article, then everybody would keep a civil pen in his hand, for fear of a kicking; and that, by the law of arithmetical probabilities, the number of instances in which the journalist is tempted, or volunteers, to offend against religion, morality, or truth, would be diminished. This branch of the question, however, cannot be regarded independently of the second consideration, of how far this anonymousness affects the writers themselves. Here the advocates of open journalism become eloquent upon the point of honour, and forcible upon the deterioration which the journalist's moral nature is supposed to undergo through the continual habit of wearing the cap of darkness. In reply to which position, I have, in the first place, to observe that, in order to establish it, the controversialists of that colour must prove that open writing makes a gentleman out of the man who began by being an author merely. To be successful in such a demonstration, they would have to explain away the fact that, of all the books (with hardly an exception) which live in an immortality of infamy, the authorship is not only known to posterity, but was claimed and trumpeted by their authors at the very period of composition. They would have to deal with the slight fact, that Italy produced books which are currently quoted as those of Aretino and Machiavelli; that the name of France's hero, Voltaire, never can be disconnected with the *Pucelle* any more than with the *Henriade*, and Louvet lives in the literary history of the last century; while Churchill and Tom Paine would rise on the other side of the Channel to confound their argument.

The truth is, that the gentleman is the gentleman still, whether he writes under his own name or not, and that the blackguard, under similar circumstances, is equally true to his own nature. It may be that both the one and the other feel

freer elbow-room, and are conscious of a wider range through the dictionary, from having the privilege of substituting the cosmopolitan 'we' for their private patronymics; and the question actually resolves itself into the decision whether there are, or are not, preponderating advantages—nay, manifest necessities—for risking the results of this licence, independently of the social claims of journalists, such as I have already established them to be.

Here I must, in passing, note that, with reference to journalism, conducted, as it is, upon its modern basis, the phrase 'anonymous writing' conveys a very imperfect and incorrect impression. The 'we' of a newspaper is not the algebraist's unknown quantity, any more than the 'I' of a Cambridge Essayist. The successful journalist is the man who understands how to work intelligently that cunning clockwork the fabulous vitality of the paper itself. An article in a newspaper is the expression of sentiments *valeant quantum* assumed to be those of that paper, as if it were a thing possessing intelligence—they really are those of a corporate body, such as I shall later show the staff of a paper to be. A petition to Parliament under the seal of a corporation expresses the wishes of that corporate body; and the member who should rise, on the presentation of such a petition, and object to it because he could not find at the end of it the name of the mayor or of the town-clerk, as fathering its sentiments, but only the waxen impression, very clumsily made, of Queen Elizabeth on her throne, would be laughed at for his absurdity. Why, then, are the writers in a newspaper to be precluded from addressing their plea to the public under the broad seal of journalism, the conventional 'we'—which 'we,' be it noted, is but the elliptical repetition, every time it is used, of the name of the paper—that name endorsing all the opinions which are given by them to the world under its shadow? Discreditably, or even dangerously anonymous writing, is writing which defies the law or public opinion, from being issued independently of any person or persons who are answerable for its contents. A charge against a public man, true or false, published in a newspaper, may reach thousands of readers; while the same accusation, written and posted in an unsigned letter, may only affect the recipient himself, who has, if he likes, the alternative of throwing it into the fire. But then the infamy of the latter mode of dissecting characters—even if the charges made be both true and capable of proof—consists in the accusation being cast in such a shape that detection and punishment must be preceded by publicity, and that if the victim shrinks from that publicity, he is at the same time deprived of his

redress. A charge in a newspaper, however scurrilous (and here I protest most indignantly against the foul offence of scurrility), comes under the libel law. There is to every paper a printer or a publisher, who has to go to prison if the editor or writer will not give himself up; and a charge brought home before a court of law of moral assassination, always goes far, if not the whole way, to ruin the credit of the paper guilty of the act, and sometimes leads to its extinction as a commercial property. Those squibs which are sometimes printed in times of exceptional excitement—elections and so on—from the 'press in the moon,' and are stuck up by no one knows what hand, at the corners of the streets, are the true exponents of anonymous writing; and the man must be very prejudiced who will say that the articles in our papers can be classed in the same category with them. The righteous reprobation with which society visits *all* anonymous letter-writing does not arise from there being any intrinsic harm in communicating information (apart from the nature of that information) on an unsigned sheet. Such information may often be tendered with the most benevolent intentions, and may often be of the greatest utility; in which case the condonation accorded to it by tacit consent is of the nature of a special grace, rather than of an acknowledgment that the act was intrinsically justifiable. But the reprobation proceeds from the feeling that the foundations of order would be sapped if it were to be conceded that there should not, for every statement put forth, publicly or privately, be some corporate body, or some individual responsible, either to public opinion or public law. Such corporate body, by the law of England, every newspaper is in itself; and such individual by the same law always exists in the registered proprietor or the printer. Therefore, to place newspaper writing on the level of anonymous letter-writing is to confound language and ignore the simplest social and legal distinctions. Unsigned (for this is the right word) writing may be desirable or not, but it is not anonymous in the offensive sense which ordinarily appertains to that term; and it ought not, therefore, to be so called, except under protest.

But there are positive reasons which, as I contend, render the compulsory signature an undesirable innovation in journalism, and upon which I must dilate at greater length. But it must not be supposed that, while upholding, as I do, the living journalist against the ideal 'journal,' I have any intention of getting rid of the last-named important, nay, necessary contrivance. I have argued for the social dignity of the journalist, but I have done so on grounds peculiar to his own distinct line of authorship, and not on those of the general dignity of literature. Journalism

is that method of writing which works under the stalking-horse of the journal, and it would be an act of revolution, not reform, to throw down the convenient screen. The corporate idea of the journal has its use as well as its abuse, and my desire to purge the latter is not stronger than my anxiety to preserve the former. Believing, accordingly, that the use would be damaged, and that the revolution would be nearly consummated by the arbitrary universal enforcement (whether by law or mutual convention) of signatures, without any advantage accruing therefrom to the journalists themselves, I feel compelled to protract the discussion of the question.

Each newspaper, theoretically at least, starts with a programme of principles and a bundle of objects. Sometimes this equipment includes the field of universal news, which is the case of the majority of papers; in others the scope is more or less special, like that of the various scientific journals; other periodicals hold an intermediate position, such as the majority of the so-called 'religious' papers. But there is no paper, even of the universal class, which does not exist for the object of decanting all the facts which it publishes through its own funnel. Even were one to be set up with the avowed object of holding the scales impartially between all parties; and were it to succeed with tolerable completeness in the task, it would yet be the organ of a party composed of itself; and on many questions the student of its opinions might be able to guess, with some approximate accuracy, what it would be likely to say upon each fresh complication. Consequently, to argue that each successive tenant of the 'we' of any paper is absolutely an anonymous writer is to proclaim a fallacy. He is not *anonymous*, but he is the *persona* acting at that time on behalf and in the name of the incorporate paper. That the persons who compose that incorporation may not be known to the public proves nothing so long as the paper possesses a standing title, a standing place of publication, and a standing publisher responsible to the law for any trespass which the journal may commit. All these considerations involve responsibility; and though it be a fact that the responsibility to the public only acts upon the individual writer at second-hand, yet its effect is not the less really felt, while at the same time it is impressed upon him in company with the additional responsibility he owes to his fellow-workers and sharers in the 'we.'

I have not used these last words without a meaning. There cannot be, as the details which I have given of the machinery of a paper may already have led my readers to infer, a greater error among those inconsistent misconceptions

which, as I suspect, characterize popular notions of journalism, than to assume that the assumption of the plural style is an act of affectation on the part of the newspaper scribe. There is no journal so poor as not to have at least one occasional extra writer—and that extra writer must not assume a tone contrary to that of the regular hand, be he the editor or not. When the regular hand is not the editor, then above him also stands that official to regulate, direct, and harmonize the corps; and above the editor comes the proprietorship, with again the possibility of fusion; and then, if proprietor, editor, and ordinary writer concur in one individual, so august a union of characters well deserves the plural style. But, to speak seriously, there is not only, as a general rule, such a mutual responsibility of writers and managers one upon another as to render this method of speaking the most truthful as well as convenient, but great good to the cause of public order follows upon such being the case. It is obvious that the reciprocal dependence thus created must tend to check individual recklessness; and as a fact, when a writer desires to be more than ordinarily personal and self-opiniated, he either assumes for himself, or is made to assume, the position of writing, not an editorial article, but a letter to the paper; a method of publishing a man's thoughts intended to imply that he speaks on his own sole responsibility, whether or not he divulges his name. Abolish the present system, and compel signatures, and you at once reduce all the articles to the level of letters—and letters, moreover, professing to carry the real names of their writers. You destroy the coherence of the various portions of the journal—you weaken the feeling of mutual corporate dependence—you give an impulse to crotchettiness, foolhardiness, and violence, when you so far emancipate every man's colleagues from their share in the results of their partner's behaviour. So much the better, I shall be told in reply—you have set up limited liability in trade; why not so in literature also? I answer that the very considerations of practical sense, which have led our administrators of all shades of thinking to acknowledge that it is best to concede the limitation of liability in the money trade lead me to desire that the permission of anonymousness in periodical writing should be preserved. Why is it that unlimited liability is no longer universally maintained? Not because having the deepest possible purses to dip into is not abstractedly desirable for the speculations themselves—but because practice has shown that the extent of the risk operates against the very tender of those purses, and so restricts the area of men willing to embark their money upon ventures even when they are of manifest public utility and offer reason-

able prospects of remuneration. Just so the enforcement by law or by custom of the signature would limit the area of writers willing to enrich journalism with their experience. Many of them are in other professions, which are thought, with however much of prejudice, not to leave their industrious and earnest practitioners time to cultivate systematic authorship; many have private connexions which would render their ostensible advocacy of opinions, in however harmless language, highly embarrassing; others may hold official appointments which are, rightly or wrongly, assumed to be incompatible with the status of an acknowledged journalist, although the quiet practice of writing might be winked at; others, again, either from shyness or from the simple desire to walk through the world unseen and gather experience from lips which would be sealed by the knowledge that they were in company with a writer, would absolutely refuse the work if the signature were obligatory. No one, on the other hand, whose conscience or vanity prompts him to decline writing anything to which his name shall not stand attached, needs be under any difficulty. He has only to write 'I' for 'we,' and append his name. He will, to be sure, forfeit that importance which attaches to the corporate allusions of the unsigning journalist; but if the signature be made imperative, this loss will become one common to the whole class. In the interim, the signer's articles will be given as 'letters' or as 'communications,' and battle boldly on their own merits with the similar productions of the more mysterious 'we.'

To descend from theory to experience, I apprehend that it would be difficult to find the man who should be bold enough to say that the results of compulsory signature in the French Empire are such as to encourage the adoption of a similar system in England. But it is a fact, now nearly forgotten, that the actual law is not the child, but only the ward of the Empire, having been voted in the National Assembly of the second Republic, with the approbation of that extreme but pedantic republican, Pierre Leroux; thus affording one proof more to the many already existing of the similarity which underlies the apparent differences of a doctrinaire despotism and a philosophizing republic, and of the small interval which separates an appeal to the pessimism from one to the optimism of the world. That fantastic dreamer Leroux backed the crotchet with arguments founded on high abstract sentimentalism, and met with the approving response of a parliament of visionaries. In time the arbiter came—the man of cannons and of spies—and found ready made to his hand the very system most appropriate to his policy. In its working, the device, it is needless to add, breaks down in the

particular instances where the constituted tyranny most relies upon its stringency, for men of straw never are wanting to subscribe the dangerous contributions of suspected leaders, all the while that a Montalembert publishes a name with his words which thrill through every manly heart. The result is that an uncertain haze lowers over the whole journalistic atmosphere. No one's identity is certain, no one's writing is valued at its author's own market-price, while the corporate power of each journal in itself, and of journalism as a whole, has virtually disappeared. Towering above them all, the central power has continually to enact fresh provisions, all harder than the original law of signature, to bolster up its overstrained authority.

The sufferers, of course, by the restriction are not the strong, but the weak. A dominant majority has comparatively little need of newspapers, and the question of signature or anonymousness has a merely theoretic value in its eye. The boon is precious to the minority—to those whose right to speak at least cannot be forfeited by any folly short of madness, or any selfishness short of treason.

The weaker and the more unpopular a cause may be, the more, by the eternal laws of justice, has it a claim to that protection, slight as it may be, which is afforded by its written apologies not being overweighted by the patent personal deficiencies of its living advocates. In any case, indeed, it is just in journalism to abstract the idiosyncrasy of the writer from the subject matter of his writing, and leave the latter to sink or swim according to its own quality. To take an instance, there are, it is well known, two views upon street music in London; one side advances the delight which such music gives to the million, the other is strong on the torture it inflicts on the student or the invalid. Each side has a great deal to say for itself; and each side does say a great deal. We might find the advocate of licence in the guise of a hale, robust, live-and-let-live man, with the digestion of an ostrich, and nerves of cast-iron—while the prohibitionist was a gentleman, thin and yellow, nervous and dyspeptic. It would then be introducing a foreign element into the controversy to allow the former to taunt his opponents with the fidgettiness, or the latter to retort with the insensibility of their advocate. The robust and the dyspeptic divide the world between them, but it is only common fairness not to force the writer who speaks the sentiments of one or the other party to make his personal ascription matter of public notoriety.

We may, indeed, push this principle further, and for the moment abandoning the immediate question, appeal to the

utility of the periodical press as the safety-valve of all unpopular tenets, however erroneous and however foolish, within those limits (which ought to be measured with a slack chain) beyond which the State's correctional police is bound to interfere. The dread of free discussion is not a political, nor a theological, so much as it is a psychological, blunder. The powers of the imagination left to feed upon its own creations, being what they are—illimitable in their aberrations and (if under high pressure) intangible to external control—it is the plain dictate of common sense, not perhaps to make an entirely free vent for them, but not to impose obstacles to a sufficient vent being made by the explosive substances. Journalism, however free, has enough of physical difficulties to overcome to render the licence comparatively harmless; while, by the invariable law of commercial reciprocity, all but the grossest abuses of liberty are best grappled with by self-appointed antagonists. Sometimes, too, the error, which mellows when unrepressed, may grow rotten and burst from its own purple overripeness, which, had it been checked, would have hardened into core and matured its seed. In the meanwhile the apparently effete minority—the seeming idolatry of some dead man and lost cause—which has been barely keeping existence alive in obscure papers, gradually or suddenly reassumes a controlling attitude, whether or not legitimately due to any merits of its own. Then equally the plenitude, however noisy, of resilient exultation, must be tolerated, because the law, which could strike at its overweening importance, must, if it is just, be equally aimed at the now discomfited opposition whose weakness makes its outspoken utterance sedition in the despot's eyes.

If it were not for the fear of unduly transgressing my limits, I might carry this controversy into the opposite camp, and call upon the adversaries of unsigned newspaper writing to show cause why the signing of every pamphlet and every book should not be equally compulsory. They can give no reason for the difference. If the article and the pamphlet are both libellous, the latter, in material bulk, will probably contain ten times as much libel as the former.

So much for the considerations which lead me to the conviction that the enforcing of the writer's signatures would be productive of evils worse than those which it might be intended to counteract. I shall now be probably asked by what machinery I propose to ensure the 'rehabilitation' of the journalist in distinction to the journal. My answer is that, if by machinery be implied any external and formal process, I have neither planned, nor do I recommend, any. It would be as impossible to improve the journalist's position by beat of drum as to

enforce the four cardinal virtues or regulate the four cardinal winds by a similar expedient. If I should call such a proposal un-English, I should most accurately define my meaning, not, indeed, employing the word 'English' in the sense in which it is current in the mouths of pot-house politicians, but using it to characterize that contempt (not impossibly an overstrained one) of any pre-dictated system which operates on our countrymen as the incentive to vigorous action, and unites real and mutually understood co-operation with the external phraseology of mere independency. This seeming contrariety of theory and practice (which is best described as a species of *irony* in the classical signification of that term) more naturally matches with a grave than a mercurial national temperament. The latter has not the patience to keep it up. Consequently the French are almost destitute of this characteristic, and so many things are regulated in France by dogmatic precedent, as a safeguard against revolution and chaos, which in England are left to public opinion to shape themselves. With us, for example, the railway platform is open to the whole world, and the whole world tacitly regulates itself according to this liberty, by not thronging the space, unless there is some friend to meet or to send off. In France the passengers are penned into the waiting-room and driven upon the platform by word of command, and the parent parting from the child upon a life's pilgrimage must perforce take the last farewell outside the ticket office. I could multiply instances, but I forbear, and content myself with having indicated a national feature, which I believe to be a great secret not only of the cosmopolitan success of the English folk, but of the difficulty which foreign people find in defining either the character of the nation which is thus successful, or the secret of the success which it so manifestly achieves.

Relying, then, upon the national irony, I should earnestly dissuade those who have the dignity of the journalistic profession most at heart from attempting to consolidate it by any outward regulations. Their reliance must be on public opinion. Let the thinking classes of society once realize that the newspaper which comes to fill up their leisure hour, to frame their opinions for them, to raise their bile or smooth their ruffled temper, is the work of men as well born, it may be, as they are, as highly educated, and as susceptible of the influences which operate on men of honour and intelligence. Let them look beyond the closely packed columns of print into the minds which lead those multitudinous letters to take their places; let them take to themselves the obvious consideration that, if they desire those minds to reflect their own feelings and

advocate their opinions, then the rational course is not to vilify and not to ostracise the writers, but to gain the influence arising out of sympathy and fostered by confidence; let, I say, the lettered and easy classes of society mould themselves into these convictions, and the affair is settled. The calling of a journalist will have graduated—informally indeed, and imperceptibly—but with a diploma current everywhere; and the practical results of the change will not long tarry in their manifestation.

The absence of signature will still be the safeguard against servility, while the general class recognition of the men of the pen will cure that Esau-like spirit which sometimes animates the writings of the ablest masters of the fence. 'We' will no longer live a double existence, conscious of the power in the closet to puzzle ministries, frustrate knavish tricks, and delight millions; while yet in general society the mask perforce is worn, for fear the suspicion of the occupation of the midnight hours should shut the door of those very houses whose every thought outside their own knocker is moulded by that mysterious 'we.' On the other hand, until we accept the leading of Pierre Leroux, 'Thomas Brown' will not peer round the corner in apprehension of the cut direct to which the truth-telling severity of his morning lucubration may subject him, although 'Mr.' Brown, 'who you know is one of the staff of the *Fusileer*,' will in that character find himself welcome in the various homes where talent is wont to be acceptable.

Received into society with this recommendation as Mr. Brown would be, his identification with the *Fusileer* would be his *cordon bleu*, and not his manacle; while, in the other aspect of the matter, the reception of which he was sure would operate as a wholesome indirect check upon the *Fusileer's* possible petulance. Society would not have the right to insult him for any article in the *Fusileer* which might wring its withers; for the authorship of that article would be certainly divided at least between him, Mr. Wilkins, and Mr. Green, while possibly one or more additional dark horses would exist to share the merit. But still there would be a community of feeling existing between Brown, Green, and Wilkins, not to abuse their power in the *Fusileer*, for fear society—that is, *their* section of society—should avenge the affront by dropping the collective staff. In most cases this class-feeling of mutual protection would be practically found to conduce to the advantage of the whole body politic, for it would leave the *Fusileer* free, for all wholesome purposes, to speak its entire mind roundly and strongly, while it would check those unjustifiable sallies the temptation to which might be found in more perfect secrecy.

But, supposing that the increased notoriety of the ordinary staff of the *Fusileer* did tend, in some exceptional case, to blunt the edge of the sword of justice, would the public at large, or even journalism in the abstract, suffer? I believe that would not be the case. The *Fusileer* might find itself at a disadvantage. But does any *Fusileer* include all journalism? Its set may be shackled, through their private intimacies among one clique of general society; but then there is the *Carbineer*, written by a knot as able as that of the *Fusileer*, but not moving in the same subsection; and the *Carbineer* would assuredly step in whenever the *Fusileer* appeared to give an uncertain testimony. On other days it would be the *Carbineer* that might seem to fall short of its Draconian sternness; and then the *Fusileer* would have its legitimate revenge. In the meanwhile, by this balance of papers, by this free-trade of journalistic ability, with the strings pulled on either side by men of standing in society, and yet for the moment behind an only half-transparent curtain, the cause of public justice, morality, and intellect would be the best promoted.

I have hitherto, it will be seen, been almost exclusively considering the case of the principal functionaries of a well-appointed journal—the writers of its leading articles; but my argument would be very incomplete if it did not include the chief of all—the editor—as well as the subordinate writers in their various degrees; and I must also add some observations upon the social status of the staff of journals not of the first class. If, as I have assumed all through this Essay, popular ideas are hazy upon the subject of journalism in general, they are most peculiarly so upon the nature of that powerful individual the editor. If a stray reporter shows himself at a country meeting, it is highly improbable that the rumour does not circulate round the table, either that the editor, or that one of the editors, of the *Carbineer* is gracing their anniversary. For the information, therefore, of my readers, I must explain that, in the first place, the editor of any well-managed paper is invariably a single person, and not an agglomerate unit; and secondly that he has other business than to be running about the country, note-book in hand. His legitimate office is the general regulation of the contents of the paper, in their various branches. He has to gather political information where he can—to weigh its credibility; and on the result of such analysis to make the selection of subjects to be treated of in articles, and to suggest the tone of those articles. He has to maintain consistency of sentiment between the various writers. It is for him to say what meetings shall be reported, and how fully—what Blue Books shall be analysed—on which side praise and blame are

to be dispensed, in all the cases in which society finds itself poised between two opinions. On his nod depended whether the *Fusileer* considered Marshal Haynau rightly or wrongly castigated by the draymen, and whether the *Carbineer* pronounced Mr. Ruck sane or insane. In foreign politics his sway is equally recognised within his own office; but here, from the complexity of the interests involved, he is not unfrequently assisted by a subordinate, termed the foreign editor; but still the control of the leading articles rests with the chief. In those difficult cases, continually occurring, in which the interests of public morality, or the fear of the libel law, competing with the duty of the paper to hold up the mirror to the age, render the publication or suppression of this or that fact or document subject of grave deliberation, the editor is the judge on whom rest the various responsibilities of looking to the credit of his paper, the profits of its proprietors, and the general weal of society. When politics run high and current prognostications come false—when Ministers and Opposition enter the House, not knowing over whose success or discomfiture the midnight gas will flare,—then the office of editor becomes one of the most difficult and delicate which can devolve upon the man schooled by mental discipline for the fight of intellects. He may often have to decide, with or without five minutes' notice, while the compositor is clamouring for 'copy' and the writer is biting his pen in suspense, what line he has to take upon a question—not yet solved by the unusually late division—on which the prosperity of his sheet depends, and where a blunder once committed is neither forgotten nor forgiven by the public out of doors.

Such are a few of the avocations—such are some of the anxieties of an editor. It will be seen that I have not included in them what ignorant people are often led to imagine is his special function—the actual authorship of articles. Some editors superadd this to their other labours; others do not; but even when so added, it is not strictly editor's work, and the most sagacious of that rank in journalism are unwilling to undertake it, not only from the additional amount of toil involved, but because it may put them—in the character of writers for themselves—in a perplexing rivalry with their own staff, which they can best keep in gear by avoiding a specific competing interest of their own. Neither have I alluded as yet to the manipulation and correction of the articles already written; various papers have, I believe, different rules as to the amount of licence which their editors take in this respect. But, upon the sum total of them all, this item of work is inva-

riably onerous, and requires a rare union of common-sense and literary facility rightly to perform it.

After this sketch of what an editor ought to be, I apprehend that I shall not be called on to argue very elaborately that all which I have said in favour of recognising the status of newspaper writers applies with infinitely greater force to that of newspaper editors. The conductor of a journal of weight is, of course, a man worth knowing and worth cultivating in the eyes of all who stand forward, or who desire to stand forward, in the crowd, whether statesmen, diplomatists, and legislators, or painters, poets, and philosophers. In proportion, then, as he respects his own position by causing it to be respected by others, he will deal independently with those who are courting him, just as much (to say the least of it) as he can court them. However well educated and right principled he may naturally be, still, if he finds himself looked upon in his vocation as a kind of literary 'man in the moon,' he will be tempted to frame to himself a code of morality somewhat resembling the code which regulated the behaviour of that child of darkness, who used, in the palmy days of electioneering corruption, to drive in after dusk in a closed postchaise. I am not of course recommending the editor of any paper to play the part of the mere man about town, the club wit, or the ministerial jackal. It is the very ambiguity of the position of editors, as a class, which affords an opening for the less diffident of their body to strive to shine at their compeers' expense. Once recognise the caste as such, and each member of it will naturally find his own level.

Of the other component parts of a first-class newspaper staff, the reporters mainly arrest our consideration. Others, such as the theatrical or the artistic critic, of course occupy a position analogous to that of the leader writer, with the exception of being engaged exclusively on a given line of subject. So does that most important official, the writer of the 'City article,' who has in his daily lucubration to combine the most extreme financial accuracy with peculiar clearness of literary expression. Reporters are a class about whom it is not too much to say that the notions of society are wholly at sea. There is a floating tradition about more than one man who has achieved eminence in life's battle, that he began his virile career in the gallery of the House of Commons; and yet, in the face of this consideration, most persons would, I believe, be surprised to hear reporting classed among the gentle professions. Reporters, properly so called, are confounded with an inferior calling, commonly termed, from the rate at which its remuneration is

paid, 'penny-a-lining.' The 'liner' is to the regular journalist what the hawker is to the shopkeeper. He is a man not attached to any paper in particular. He gathers up and arranges news of the casual kind, such as fires, accidents, merry-makings, and meetings which genuine reporters have neglected to attend, on his own responsibility. He offers it, copied in multiplicate, under the expressive name of flimsy (so called from the quality of the paper on which it is written), to as many papers as he has the use of,—if it is accepted, it is good for its value's worth; if it is refused, he has his trouble for his pains. The 'sub-editor' stands to these 'liners' in much the same position as that which the editor fills towards the regular staff. The 'reporter,' on the contrary, is exclusively attached for the time being to some particular paper, and the services which he renders to it are of no ordinary value. The work of a parliamentary session merely, is of a kind to stagger an indolent imagination. Upon some six or eight men rests the responsibility of being in the gallery of the House of Commons night after night to follow the turn of the various debates as they arise, and to embody the substance of all but the least important speeches (themselves deciding on that question of comparative importance), and the very words of many, by a process of compendious writing equal in speed to that of the elocution itself. Close upon this exertion comes the equally laborious, and more tedious, work of having to expand those short-hand notes into the ordinary manuscript for the printer's use—printers being unable to read short-hand. Something more than manual dexterity is of course needful for the art—the reporter who has not at least a current acquaintance with general politics and general history, and who has not some comprehension of French and Latin, is not the man who is able to record a parliamentary debate of this century. The work in the House of Lords is of course the same in kind, though less in quantity; while for the reporting of the law courts is called in another class of reporters, possessed of different acquirements; but these, too, of a kind demanding educational refinement. Such, I repeat, is the standing claim upon the reporters during the session. But the sphere of their duties is not confined to Parliament. Meetings of great importance frequently occur at which eminent orators are engaged—sermons and lectures of general interest are from time to time delivered—and *causes célèbres* require reporting of an amplitude which demands the handiwork of men versed in the parliamentary, and not the judicial system of taking notes. For all these unusual occasions the reporter, and not the 'liner,' acts for the first-class paper. In the recess, of course,

comes the reporter's holiday; but still woe to the journal which utterly disbands its corps. The Minister, or the leader of the Opposition, is sure to choose that moment for his fire-work; and the London paper which trusts to its 'provincial contemporary' for the report is apt sometimes to find its calculations sorely out. But the pen work of the reporter does not stop short even of the most various exercises of short-hand writing. The reporters must be, as I have shown, men of a certain literary capacity. They are accordingly frequent contributors to the columns of the papers with which they are connected, of those original articles on various topics which, without attaining the dignity of leaders, combine description with discriminative criticism. They are also available for reviewing books; and to them is ordinarily due the authorship of that very peculiar class of writings, the picturesque description of epochal facts and ceremonials (even when no speaking is reported), which the public has learned to expect that the various newspapers should contribute in rivalry of each other. In this branch of authorship of course the 'reporter' treads on the heels of the 'liner,' the difference being simply between a good article and an inferior one—between geneva and gin. Accordingly it is one of the tests of the capable editor that he should judge when to send down his own reporter, and when to trust to the 'liner' or the local journal coming up to him.

The reader who realizes this compendium of a reporter's work will no longer feel a difficulty in comprehending that his branch of the journalistic profession ought to be a gentleman's calling, and that, as a matter of fact, 'reporters' are generally such by birth and training, and many of them barristers. The remuneration, too, which they are able to win enables them to live, not, indeed, with much display, but so as to maintain their standing of gentlefolk in the eyes of their neighbours, whether or not these know the nature of their profession. But, for all that, the fact remains behind that the ignorance and the prejudice of the world have not yet yielded so far as to catalogue reporting among the professions which would be currently jotted down as one of those open to the well-born youth of slender means. The placing it in that rank would be not less advantageous to those whose avenues to competence are thus enlarged than to the reporting fraternity itself, in raising its tone to the concert pitch of professions which are, and which are acknowledged to be, liberal.

In all that I have hitherto written I have kept before my eyes the ideal of the daily morning papers published in London as the most perfect specimens of their order. But the

conditions of a first-class evening, thrice a week, or weekly paper are so similar as to the responsibilities of editor, leader writer, &c., that it would be unnecessary for me to travel over the ground again. Of course the editor has physically less to do, and of course (borrowing, as he does, his parliamentary and other reports from the morning papers) his reporting staff is much less strong; usually speaking, indeed, he would not employ any, unless his journal existed as the organ of some religious, social, or special political party, and so required detailed reports of meetings which general journals would treat more cursorily or omit altogether. But all that I have said of the need of giving editors and writers their proper social position without exacting signatures to their contributions, unless they please themselves to affix them, holds good as much in the one case as in the other. The main difference is, that writing in a weekly paper may, from its infrequency, be joined to other callings with greater ease than a similar connexion with a daily one. The writers in daily papers merely, form a considerable class in literary society. If those of the other journals are added, then the number becomes considerable enough to render the question one of general interest. Though the proctors were a limited corporation, the prudent father used to forecast proctorship among his son's possible sources of income. Journalism has professors enough to make it equally an element in parental calculation. The existence among the writers in weekly papers of half-practitioners—men who only bestow a limited portion of time on that calling—has a most wholesome effect on the *morale* of the daily press, by mitigating clique and corporate feeling. The writer of six articles a week has the advantage of keeping himself in thorough condition. But the fatigues of incessant labour dog his path, while the rival who has but to contribute his single lucubration in the same time goes fresh to his work, having spent the intervening days in keeping his eyes and his ears open in every circle where he finds admittance. He may not thrust and slash with the technical finish of the daily combatant, but he deals his blows with the ease and the coolness of the man who has not lost his breath. The very absence of the last professional touch may often make his concoction palatable to patients tired of more pedantic excellence.

Before I quit this topic I must, by way of explanation, observe that, in distinguishing between the writing of leading articles and reporting, as I have done, I do not imply that there is an impassable or even a wide barrier between these two kinds of journalism. Reporting may often be the discipline by which authorly ability is compassed; and, in propor-

tion as journalism attains its social status, will its various divisions mutually group themselves.

In all that I have said I have supposed the journals to be fully officered in every department; but the majority of papers, including the greatest part of those published out of London, are not of the first class. In them the same person is often proprietor, editor, leader writer, and reporter. In none do these different offices employ as many different persons. The editor is sometimes a reporter drafted from the London press, sometimes the representative of an ancestral interest long settled in the locality. It stands, of course, to reason, that the condition of these papers is very different from that of metropolitan journals; and, in proportion as they show inferiority, will the claims of their writers be less strong. But I will not waste time in dogmatizing. If the claims of the highest journalism are conceded, those of its less brilliant exhibitions will shape themselves proportionately and in correspondence with the conditions of society in general in such localities. Still I cannot pass on without observing that the influence of provincial papers is hardly made enough account of. They may not weigh considerably with the upper classes, but there are huge strata of the community—shopkeepers in small towns, farmers, &c.—through which they penetrate freely, while the London journal is rarely seen on the tables of their members. It is therefore well worth the while of all who desire to become rulers of opinion and leaders of their fellow men not to neglect the provincial press. The readers of these papers may require a somewhat blunter address than a city audience, but ability in setting forth an argument and force in driving it home is as compatible with the Doric as the Attic dialect. There is no reason why that very active and meritorious class of men whose ambition is to regulate the politics and form the opinions of their immediate neighbourhood, should be more ashamed of having it known that they are well received in the office of the *Foxminster Meteor* than of the reputation of fluent oratory or dexterous canvassing. It is certain that such interposition would, in the course of time, tune local journalism nearer the concert pitch of the metropolitan exemplar.

I have reserved one result of the rehabilitation of journalists for separate consideration, in the last place. This alteration of social policy would make public life possible to the professed writer, to a much greater extent than it is at present. Writers and editors there have been in Parliament; but the cases in which the M.P. openly professes to have attained his fame through the portals of the journal are so few as to prove the rule by their exceptional rarity. It is idle to deny

that a strong prejudice exists against journalist legislation, and this prejudice, I believe, lies at the bottom of much of the intangible disfavour which, as I have argued, runs through society's general estimate. I am free to admit that the example of the German Parliament of 1848, and some other Continental experiences, lend a colour to the fear. But yet the anticipation does not terrify me. The preponderance of journalists in those assemblies was due to an unsettledness of general political society, which does not exist with us. Our general and solid commercial wealth, our breadths of landed property, afford the counterpoise; and if (as reasonable men may fear) one of the dangers possibly ahead of this empire consists in a preponderation of an under-educated plutocracy, then an infusion of nimble, though less heavily-weighted wits, might not be inopportune. At the outside, a journalist class in Parliament cannot be more disturbing than an irruption of practising lawyers; while the coexistence there of these two professions would mutually tend to keep each other in a wholesome check. Besides, the recognised English journalist would be tied to society by liens which do not bind him as he is now situated, and which still more feebly attach his foreign compeer. Anyhow we must face the situation, with its benefits and its risks alike. The journalist will not much longer brook to be remanded to his ambiguous half-concealment. It is for the rest of the world to decide betimes, whether they will open the door to him as a friend, or wait till he batters it down as an antagonist.

I have, in the whole course of this Essay, sedulously kept the newspaper in view in its social aspect only, and nothing has arisen to lead to a consideration of its commercial incidents. But I cannot take leave of my readers without a passing allusion to the much-debated subject of cheap *versus* dear newspapers, which has attained a high importance since the righteous abolition of the compulsory stamp. I cannot see that there is any principle involved on either side. A newspaper, like all other manufactured articles, costs something in its production, and ought in its price to cover that cost and bring in a profit moreover to its producers and its venders. Within the limits of such profit, of course the cheaper the paper is the better it is to the purchaser, provided the quality be not deteriorated. On the possible deterioration of quality hinges the controversy. Any abuse of, or undue influence, perversion of the public judgment, &c., which may attach to a dear paper ably written by amply-paid leader-writers, and filled with correspondence purchased at high rates from the ends of the world, and reported in by men

who expect to make a profit upon the cost of their stenographic education, will be tenfold aggravated in journals where the lowness of price is compensated for by a deterioration in all the above particulars. The question is on its trial at this moment, and London exhibits the spectacle of admirably appointed dear and admirably appointed cheap newspapers. Before very long, in the nature of things, the solution will be found in some adjustment of prices; but, at whichever rate this takes place, I feel it a duty to make a premonitory protest against the plague of cheapness at the cost of inferiority. A graver moral evil I could not well conceive than the journalism of London being dragged down to the pretentious, boisterous, touting, and screaming level of the daily press of the American cities. If our great papers can afford to sell themselves for threepence or twopence, let them do so by all means. If the price of a penny should be found permanently remunerative, so much the better. But, whether our papers be sold for threepence, twopence, or a penny, I trust it may be long before the newspapers of New York give the tone to our press.

As the commercial aspect of journalism does not come within my scope, I say nothing of those important considerations which hinge upon the use of newspapers as advertising agencies. It is obvious how much of their profits must depend upon the advertisements. It is equally obvious how intimately the question of prices is connected with the laws of advertising. The discussion of these matters would lead me long beyond my mark.

I have attempted to make clear to the general reader the social position of a newspaper and its writers, and I have urged with plainness of speech the removal of a grievance under which I consider that the profession of journalism suffers. To attempt more would be to abuse the patient reader's confidence; let it be sufficient, in conclusion, to say that, with the increase of science and education on every side, the influence of periodical writing must continue to spread. It is, therefore, caution, and it is boldness—it is conservatism and it is liberalism,—to do everything which lies in our power towards vesting that influence in the hands of men of education, refinement, moral courage, self-respect, and respect in the eyes of their fellow men.

A. J. B. B. H.

THE NATIONAL DEFENCES

AND

ORGANIZATION OF THE MILITIA OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι
Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλέσσον.

TWO hundred years have elapsed since Vauban recommended the lonely bay of Cherbourg to Louis XIV. as the site of a great military port, and traced the plan of the works which Napoleon III. has completed. It is just one hundred years since a British general held the town of Cherbourg to ransom. It is nigh upon one hundred years since the French admiral Thurot surprised, and burned, Carrickfergus. Through this long succession of years, with partial intermission, each nation has plagued its opponent with hostile provocation or warlike assault. Many a bloody passage of arms has marked the rivalry of the two countries since the days of these struggles, on the rough shores of the Norman coast, and beneath the shadows of the mountains of Antrim. But the close of this century of strife finds the two nations united in policy and by treaty. Within this period a more pervading change has been wrought in the ideas of men than any previous century had witnessed. France herself has sought, through public distress, blood, and tears, with many sacrifices and much glory, that amelioration which her philosophers one hundred years since too confidently predicted nigh at hand. England has pursued her wonted career with unswerving determination, and a march neither accelerated by eagerness, nor slackened by doubt. And throughout these long years of military effort, of material and intellectual development, the relative position of these two great nations in the van of civilization has remained unaltered. The question has ever been at the crises of nations' fates, 'What is the judgment in England—what at Paris?'

Fertile in contrasts, political, social, and moral, as this epoch has proved, the most striking probably has been reserved for the years that have closed in this century of marvel. Never, in

the annals of recorded time, were schemes of a larger philanthropy inaugurated than during the age that has just passed away; never were more earnest efforts given to the abatement of human suffering, woe, and sin. Social wounds have been fearlessly probed; the origin sought, the cure attempted, with a brave compassion. The political rights of man have been expounded and recognised. Material bonds have been stricken from the limbs of the slave; the fetters that weighed on the intellect have been relaxed. A well-ordered fabric of law has arisen above the ruins of that anomalous jurisprudence which the earthquake of revolution toppled down. Physical science and material well-being rejoice in a wide augmentation. Before the throne of mind, sovereigns and nations have proffered homage, spontaneous, and apparently lasting. But the records of these times show, how the goodly prospects of peace, and moral advancement, and civil improvement are sadly marred. Each of the great nations of Continental Europe has been twice conquered, and each capital has been twice threatened or occupied by foreign armies. To England alone, amidst other special mercies, has freedom from invasion been vouchsafed. To her it has been given to replace the lost dominion of the West by the wide Eastern empire which has accepted her rule, and to prove her skill of government in the ordering of many a fair land, made British by peaceful arts and humanizing influences. Elsewhere the reign of material force has been consolidated; and not through external aggression alone has this evil policy arisen. Capital after capital has been held by armed rebellion. Government after government has conceded to menace rights, basely resumed, when peril had passed away. From England alone no privileges have been extorted, because there were none to withhold.

It will doubtless perplex the future historian to account for the simultaneous action of such opposing tendencies in military, political, and industrial life. The age of protocols sees larger armies on foot than have been disciplined since the destruction of the four great monarchies of the ancient world.

Revolutionary successes eventuate, not in a loftier liberty, but in more profound political abasement. Steam urges fleets, but it is on warlike expeditions; railways make plain the rough places of the earth, but it is that armies may be whirled to strife; the telegraph emulates thought in speed, but becomes the minister of repressive administration. The success that, in this era of change, has attended bold adventurers, attracts into the service of government men of strong ambition, who take the sovereign humour of prince or of

people for a warrant, and fear to rebuke or disclaim an unwise or passionate policy. Hence uneasiness, perturbation, a chronic desire for change rapidly converted into action. If at such times any state—and there are others than England—shows by even rule, a daily beauty in the march of government which makes ugly the political life of those governments whose promise and performance are set asunder, it becomes the object of silent suspicion or of open envy.

It is an offence to show an unfettered press to a people languishing under a censorship; a free exercise of Christian faith to communities overlaid by ecclesiastical domination; open courts, and the judgment of fellow-citizens, to suitors breathless before submissive judges; a legislature sharing national feelings, to men whose public interests are debated by the paid servants of the government, and to the government alone responsible.

Wherefore some rulers may believe, as they hope, that England may be turned from her settled policy by dread of invasion; and hence the care with which the European mind is familiarized with the project.

But it does not become England to be disquieted with vain fears. Yet before we consider the national defences in their general application, it is desirable to inquire on what grounds the ancient and constitutional arming of the British people has been revived, and to note the conditions of the times by which such a course was suggested and justified. For, doubtless, a serious responsibility rests upon those statesmen whose policy arms a nation. It is to declare that the bonds of confidence which in ordinary times unite European states are, if not severed, at least relaxed. It is to recur deliberately to the policy of a period of armed force, which had apparently passed away. Wherefore a mere transitory suspicion will not be warrant sufficient for a general armament, more or less fraught with provocation and suggestive of distrust, albeit for purposes evidently defensive.

In considering the question of the national defences, needful as is a just appreciation of the subject to the British honour, security, and peace, a strange fluctuation of feeling in the public mind must be remarked, from heedlessness to defiance and alarm. The Great Duke in vain endeavoured to rouse his countrymen from their dream of the first condition; the public mind is now oscillating between the two last, with a manifest tendency to the second mood.

It is to show that, since the duty of maintaining national defences must be discharged—so long as England has an European policy to enforce, colonies to assimilate, commerce to extend, and free action to maintain—such task is neither diffi-

cult nor costly, neither fraught with danger to public freedom nor to private morality, that the following remarks are addressed.

And an attempt has been made, both in these pages and in a professional journal, to estimate the uttermost weight of the storm which this country may be necessitated to encounter; so that, in the words of the epigraph, schemes for our destruction may be parried in the face of day, and in defiance of known and appreciable perils.

In 1847 more than a quarter of a century had elapsed in peace, unbroken as regards national conflicts between the great European Powers, except by the short campaign that included the siege of Antwerp among its incidents, and resulted in the establishment of the kingdom of Belgium. The struggles of the French Revolution of 1830, and of the Polish war against the suzerainty of Russia, had subsided into a normal condition of government; and the Spanish Peninsula, although fermenting as ever with strife, had ceased to give cause for diplomatic anxiety to politicians. Whatever of intelligent discontent, or of unsatisfied ambition, yet lurked among the revolutionary classes of Europe, was inactive and unheeded, and on the horizon appeared for the moment no token of the coming storm.

Yet the level surface of European politics had, from time to time, been ruffled by those indications of tempest which warn the careful observer that the hurricane will follow. The arrest of a missionary in the South Seas had imperilled the good feeling between England and France. The cordiality with which this country had accepted the political decision of the French nation in 1830 had ceased to exercise a favourable impression. Mutual distrust had replaced previous confidence; while public attention was painfully directed to the state of our national defences by the correspondence between the late Duke of Wellington and Sir John Burgoyne on the subject of invasion.

On the reassembling of Parliament after the Christmas recess in January, 1848, an addition of 10,000 men to the regular army, and a limited training of the militia force were proposed; but, being accompanied by a resolution for the increase of the income tax, the motion was unfavourably received, and forthwith withdrawn.

And hence the national defences were enlarged or curtailed without any fixed plan until 1852, when the project of putting the militia force into a thorough state of efficiency was reintroduced; and, after occasioning the destruction of the Liberal Ministry, was finally adopted by the Government of Lord Derby. And thus, while the French Republic was once more

suffering change into an Empire,—a change fraught with perturbation to Europe,—the military policy of England was replaced on the footing of more warlike times.

And yet, in the very presence of political contingencies which augured ill for the maintenance of general tranquillity, the British Government showed no haste, testifying to an exaggerated alarm, in preparations for the possible interruption of peace. The English militia was called out for muster, rather than for training, in the autumn of 1852; and until the following spring, an absence of warlike display left the country in its usual aspect of tranquil industry, and in the enjoyment of the advantages which the sound financial policy then recently adopted had so largely, rapidly, and safely developed.

The first note of change in the military policy of the Empire was sounded by the trumpets of the cavalry marching on the camp at Chobham, in the spring of 1853.

No one who gazed on the steady advance of the regiments which revived the aspect of war, once so familiar to that district, foresaw that, before twelve months should have elapsed, these gallant men would have endured the deadly heats and the destroying pestilence of the Bulgarian swamps; that before them defiled, unconscious of their destiny, soldiers who would find a glorious death beside the unknown Alma, or on the then solitary heights of Sebastopol. Surely it was no ordinary inspiration that warned of coming strife before war was yet upon the gale!

But, as the autumn brought the tidings of the massacre of Sinope and of the defence of Silistria, all men perceived that once more Europe was to be vexed with the plague of war; and England, as of old, addressed herself steadfastly to the emergency.

And in what temper did the note of conflict find the nations of Europe?

A generation had arisen, and was just passing into the influential classes of political society, which knew war only by its traditions. Of actual experience there was but little. The children had forgotten the sufferings of their fathers, but cherished the memory of the triumphs which each nation had, in its turn, prized as compensation for humiliations endured.

Europe was divided into two camps:—In the one the partisans of the Russian Alliance, and they were the sovereigns who feared their people; and in the other, the enlightened men who held that the security for European progress which Russian influence, as exercised upon the monarchs of eastern and central Europe, threatened to delay or to arrest, was alone to be found in the alliance of England and France.

At such a season the exaggerated pretensions of the Czar, intensified by the personal bearing of his envoy, precipitated the combined forces of England and France on coasts left unvisited by European war-ships since the last Genoese flag was lowered from the ramparts of their Black Sea forts. Yet it might well have happened that the alliance had been adjusted with a different bearing, and the scene of conflict transferred to other shores, had not the sagacious genius of the French Emperor warned him to withdraw pretensions, not altogether dissimilar, on behalf of the Latin Church, more distrustful, it would seem, of his fortunes, or of his cause.

Truly it has been a grievous trial to all to whom civil progress and intellectual development are precious—to all who hoped that European policy had turned at length from the by-paths of a profligate diplomacy into the broad highway of truthful, national communication and cordial understanding—to all who believed that governments were made for nations, not that nations should be given in appanage to governments, and who thought that surely the day had at length dawned when principles slowly and painfully elaborated should be ratified and adopted into the common law of Christendom,—thus to be cast back on the chance arbitrement of war. And it was naturally apprehended that a war commenced on such grounds would run a course, as of old, marked with all the frightful varieties of that plague.

Thus, after long peace, war again burst forth—war of wicked origin and of base type, waged to acquire new possessions, to beat down a struggling people, and to consolidate disputed sovereignty.

Yet one fact was plain, that, whatever might be the principles of government—imperial, autocratic, monarchical, or republican—under whatever form of administration the supreme power in each state had since 1848 been maintained, destroyed, or re-constituted, traceable throughout each stage of policy, permanent or transient, within the borders of each European state seethed a conflict of opinions, of which the determining cause is as yet faintly indicated, pregnant though the future be with change to be effected by agencies stupendous and unforeseen. And to one looking forth on this dim ocean of European politics, small encouragement is given for the belief that the problems now agitating the universal mind of Europe will receive a peaceful and permanent solution. 'The flying steps of Truth' will be pursued 'across the brazen bridge of war.'

Some such considerations, doubtless, rather than a mere instinct of administrative decision, dwelt in the minds of the

statesmen who prepared with no untimely haste for the struggle which impended, although no eye had yet noted from which quarter the cause of offence was to proceed; and their provident judgment was vindicated at Sebastopol.

And so soon as the ramparts of the Russian fortress sunk into shapeless mounds beneath the 'feu d'enfer' of the Allies, and when a peace was granted to Russia which the exhaustion of her powers demanded from humanity, as well as from a sound and generous policy, England withdrew spontaneously from the scene of her triumphs so nobly won, leaving a brighter memory to watch above the graves of her soldiers sleeping in honour beside the storm-swept Euxine, than any which mythic poet has associated with legend of boldest adventure in that land of old fable.

But, though the army of England had returned with fresh renown, Peace found her people dissatisfied with the results obtained from their costly and uncompensated exertions. They were dissatisfied with a concession of maritime supremacy which the nation judged needless, and they viewed with suspicion the express desire of the representatives of the Great Powers to deal severely with the political press of the Continent; and though Europe accepted the tidings of peace with partial contentment, yet it was not forgotten that no solid progress had been made in adjusting questions of mightiest import to the European commonwealth. The close of the last war had, in 1815, united princes and peoples in one common feeling of congratulation at the overthrow of him who was foe alike to palace, to castle, and to cottage. But now in too many states the sovereign felt that an ally had been humbled; while his people thought, that to the successor of one who had been ruler of the monarchs of Europe, too large a measure of impunity had been vouchsafed.

Thus the peace found princes and subjects no nearer reconcilement than in 1848; it found the European mind unsettled by the agitations of a brief though intense struggle; it found governments yet more prone to rely on material force for internal rule than heretofore, and a subtle system of priestcraft again adopted into the resources of administration. An uneasy and ill-defined dread of change possessed the nations drifting without guidance into a perilous future; an ill-defined dread not yet exchanged for tranquil hope.

Again, in the aspect of European society, are moral portents of a strange and awful significance. For the first time Europe has witnessed, on the great scale, changes almost Asiatic in their suddenness; and although the hurricane has subsided, the wrecks still welter on the tide. The reverses and

changes of the great French Revolution were monotonous and tame compared to those fantasies of fortune; and be it remembered that the thrones of the last century crumbled before the armed strength of the spirit of liberty which the French Revolution developed, and that France conquered for herself. In these late terrible times each nation has borne within its own bosom the seed which has cropped out in armed men; and a more formidable consideration still is in the simultaneous expansion of mechanical power and of physical science, with a corresponding relaxation among statesmen of the sense of moral obligations. 'Knowledge gives the sword' indeed, but not till after weary struggles does 'knowledge take the sword away.' Can it be that the political life of Continental Europe is one vast fraud? that the power has departed from the classes reputed to govern, and that society is shaken to its foundations by the struggles of a giant force which has as yet found no natural depository or exponent? Is old Europe in a state of political transition?

Yet England, disclaiming the preponderance which her sacrifices justified, considering the repose so indispensable to her ally no less than the necessities of her antagonist, calmly betook herself to the industrial conquests suited to the genius of her people; and having reorganized her military administration, trusted that a period of peace was, for a season at least, to moderate the activity of her arsenals.

For war, however, England must ever be prepared; resting on the bounds of civilization, and on the confines of barbarism, she must be alike prompt to enforce the obligations of treaties and to repress the sudden fury of fierce nations and of wild tribes. Little rest is given to the colours which bear in their latest blazonry the records of great actions performed, and toils endured, in Burmah, at the Cape, in China, the Punjaub, Scinde, Persia.

Brief was the interval before the second Chinese war, and the Persian expedition again brought the armed strength of England into the field; and while the last regiment was on return to the Indian Peninsula from that rocky soil—fertile alone in laurels—arose in its might and fury the fiercest storm that has as yet assailed the British Empire.

Thus the year 1857 saw Europe dissatisfied, Italy throbbing with expectation, Russia silent, France observant, the unfriends of England anticipating abatement of her greatness, her friends dreading lest even her vast strength should be overtasked.

But this great and victorious England was not so to be beaten down from her pride of place. Arising from her awful

judgment-seat, with a rightful indignation stamped on her serene and terrible front, she unsheathed the sword which she draws with reluctance—with reluctance, yet not in vain. The Imperial strength was put forth sternly, resolutely, and without passion, to vindicate the temperate and forbearing rule of England. Europe heard with wonder of the deeds of arms done by the British soldiers. The sedentary armies who affect to despise the unscientific character of British war, might learn useful lessons from the strategy that covered hundreds of miles with its operations, and from the administrative skill that organized, and maintained in efficiency, the swarming masses of the Indian armies.

And yet, all formidable as England is with the renown of these latest, nay, greatest, of her achievements, illustrious in her self-denying policy, she is now drawn, perforce, to consider, and seriously, the condition of her national defences.

The National Defences! A wide term! The morning gun, roaring its welcome to the day from the heights of Gibraltar, or from parched Aden—from Fort St. George, across the Indian surf—athwart the coral reefs of Bermuda, and the frozen deeps of Halifax,—gives note of national watchfulness and of national defence, no less surely than the distant boom which warns the homeward-bound in the crowded Channel that the weary watch shall see high noon gleam on the cliffs of home.

But it is of the home defences that it is now proposed to speak. Omitting all argument that may be derived from large political suggestion, the absolute weight and power of England for resistance to invasion, within the narrow seas, is the object of these remarks.

The home defences of the empire consist, then—first, in the Royal Navy, or military marine; secondly, in the line of defence, composed almost exclusively of elements immoveable, but designed to protect certain determinate points; lastly, of the land forces of the country, under military organization capable of being directed on any given district or line of operations.

The maritime or naval line of defence may be further divided into Channel fleets, squadrons of guard under sail or steam, and the in-shore divisions of block-ships and gun-boats. For manning these vessels, in addition to the ships' companies of the Royal Navy, Coast Volunteers and the Coast Guard Service are available. The immoveable or littoral line of defence is composed of naval fortresses of the first class; of forts, martello towers, coast batteries, military and commercial, designed to beat off privateering cruisers; raft batteries on

the cellular principle, proposed by Captain Fishbourne, R.N., to be moored in the estuaries of the island, and on the line of approach to our principal ports of commerce; the service of which may be well discharged by local gun detachments, and by dockyard and artisan battalions drilled to handling heavy guns. The details of the maritime line of defence, and of a large proportion of the second or littoral line, belong to the province of the naval and military services, as a strictly professional department, and may be passed over with a few general observations. But it will not be inopportune to notice, in the first place, the nature of the change effected by the general adoption of steam as a motive power into the military marine of the civilized world.

The science of war may be defined to consist in the power of moving the heaviest masses along the shortest lines. The art of war consists in embodying those inspirations of genius which enhance the value of combinations purely material and tactical, by the intellectual and moral agencies acting on the sentient portion of that marvellous machine which is compacted into a well-composed military force by land or sea. The science of war, as dealing with ponderable or dynamic powers alone, may be acquired by the observance of purely physical laws, and by a strict attention to mathematical expression. The art of war, in its highest development, comprehends a larger field of action for its sphere, employs far nobler means than a mere application of calculable forces, leads to more useful, more glorious, and more enduring consequences.

An illustration may be found in the results of the two most continuous and remarkable movements of troops performed in modern times by the soldiers of a single nation—namely, in the march of the French upon Austerlitz, and of the Russian supports upon Sebastopol; although the one failed to rescue the works of Sebastopol from the gripe of the Allied armies, while the other led to the re-establishment of Napoleon's influence through Eastern Europe. The Russian forces were moved up as prescribed by the science of war. The advance of the French host was precipitated by a genius conversant with the art of war. But each advance in physical science tends in some degree to neutralize, or at least to postpone, the preponderance exercised by the higher exemplifications of genius.

If, for instance, the Russian troops at the one period, and the French on the earlier occasion, had been moved on railways, the value of both troops for the special purpose, on arriving at the point of service, would have been tolerably equal.

For all practical uses, up to that point, the battalions that conquered in result of the tedious drills of the camp of Boulogne, might, on this supposition, have been as carefully and effectually trained each in their separate barrack-yard in the interior of France. The clear insight of Napoleon would doubtless have discovered and combined the elements of a successful campaign, but the advantage derivable from the first success, which is of such value in undertakings where weight once moved from a state of inertia acts with the accelerated momentum of an avalanche, would have been deferred, perhaps lost.

And such is in principle the effect obtained by the application of steam to naval purposes. Again, the advantages of steam power are deducible not so much from the speed, as from the certainty lent to naval operations. In all tactical movements a general calculates his speed at the rate of the slowest, the object being to obtain a simultaneous result; if, then, the slowest moving body can be brought uniformly nearer to the reduced rate of progression of the fastest, the loss of speed as regards the latter is compensated by the uniformity of action produced.

The superiority of the Royal Navy over the military marine of other nations was obtained in a great degree by the uniformity of training and discipline, producing mean results which brought every particle of matter with its due momentum at the right instant to the spot where the force could be applied most effectually. Fast sailers were not permitted to outstrip their slower consorts, or to display a brilliant individuality to the diminution of general effectiveness. Each vessel took her assigned place in line of battle; and hence came the victories which are an heritage of glory to the British people to all time.

Hence it was that the finely-moulded constructions of the French and Spanish schools of naval architecture were transferred, as prizes and models, to the dockyards of the power whose superior training and discipline outbalanced the ascendancy to be obtained by structural excellence alone.

It is undoubtedly true that, afloat as well as ashore, the qualities of endurance, spirit, and obedience, will, in combination, work, on great emergencies, their marvels; but when aggressive action can be rapidly and surely generated with a certainty of effecting the primary result to be desired, skill in some degree is neutralized, and genius commences its functions at a later stage of the process. The *Agamemnon* was saved by seamanship; but transcendent skill is not requisite to transmit with great swiftness the French and

Belgian mails to Dover and to Folkestone. And thus much is to be remarked of the reduction of the speed of steam-ships of war to the mean velocity most consistent with the service in hand. Let the continuous or persistent velocity for special service be calculated, and it will be perceived greatly to facilitate the chances of success in the early stages of any required operation. A very remarkable instance of the certainty arising from the application of steam-power occurred at Naples, under the notice of the writer, in 1838. Sir Robert Stopford's squadron came up from Malta to Naples, in July. In passing through the Faro, a line-of-battle ship injured one of her heaviest anchors; the *Confiance*, a small steam-tender to the admiral, took the damaged anchor on board in the Bay of Naples. Passing through the Faro on her way to the dock-yard at Malta, she found a corvette (the *Harlequin*) endeavouring to work through. She proceeded to Malta, received a new anchor from the dockyard, towed the corvette through the Faro, where she found her on her return, and placed the new anchor on board the line-of-battle ship within ninety-six hours from the time that the injured one had been shipped on board the tender. Now, during this season light airs prevail during one-third, at least, of the twenty-four hours. If, then, a sailing vessel had been able to make its passage one way in forty-eight hours, it is not to be expected that equal speed could be obtained in the reverse direction; and yet it is certain that, if Sir Robert Stopford's squadron had been fitted as screw-ships, each vessel would have made as good a passage each way as did the steam-tender. Hence, it would appear that the certainty obtainable under the conditions of steam-power may, in narrow seas, determine a first success, which it may be difficult to reverse, independently of the higher qualities of seamanship.

In considering the value of the maritime line of defence, the demand on the naval resources of the empire must not be unnoticed. It is scarcely possible to calculate or foresee with precision the point which should be watched, guarded, or defended. The maritime power of the empire is distributed into five principal divisions: one for home service, three for colonial service, and one for Mediterranean and political service. And when it is remembered that the military policy of the empire is based on the occupation of maritime fortresses, which are held in communication with the mother country through her fleets, the squadron available for home service must naturally appear restricted, in proportion to the number of British ships-of-war. But this first line of defence, however numerous its several parts, may prove to be weak at some

points of the extended range which is to be covered; or the manœuvring of a subtle policy may lead our fleets across the ocean, as once before, in search of the enemy; or unforeseen combinations may lurk in unnoticed harbour or strait, prompt, if not to effect serious loss, at least to divide the strength and diminish the credit of the British navy. It has been stated that, during the Pritchard controversy, twenty-two French pendants were counted in the harbour of Guadaloupe.

It is, therefore, clearly inexpedient to rely on maritime supremacy, however solidly it may appear to exist, alone. It is to be remembered, in calculating the maritime strength of England—*first*, that she has in every sea important colonies to protect; *secondly*, that steam-power has diminished her relative strength at the commencement of hostilities; *thirdly*, that a combination of ships-of-war of the greater and lesser powers might be formed and detached from their ordinary duties, so as even to outnumber her available strength on a selected point of attack, or of action; *fourthly*, that a battle lost at the commencement of a war would necessitate redoubled efforts; *fifthly*, that the able-bodied seamen of the merchant navy are absent on distant voyages, and therefore not immediately available; *lastly*, that the pacific and just policy of England, which forbids her to commence the contest, leaves to the assailant opportunity to give or to withhold attack, as he may be disposed, or consider expedient.

Occasions, doubtless, may present themselves when a sagacious government would act with the promptitude that averts national disaster by energetic and unexpected action. Yet these crises are dangerous to the public morality of a nation, and entail, as well as avert, a special peril.

The second system of defence to be analysed is the immoveable or littoral line furnished by maritime fortresses, by forts, by martello towers, by coast and raft batteries.

And, first, of maritime fortresses. In the attributes of this class of defences the use of steam-power has wrought much change. As regards the blockade of fortresses, steam has extended to the vessels comprising the hostile squadron precisely the advantage which Napoleon derived from his rule of masking fortresses, and which the Allies resorted to with so much success in the campaign of 1813, on the Vistula and the Oder.

And in developing the details of actively offensive operations carried on from the sea, steam, as at Odessa, enables heavily-armed vessels to select, and to vary at pleasure, the point of attack, while the practice of firing eccentric shot enables an enemy not only to insult a fortress, but to place

each shot within a square of 600 feet at a range of 5000 yards. It may be doubted whether, for a prolonged coast blockade, an ordinary steamer is as serviceable as the class of vessel which composed the North Sea squadron of the great French war; but it is not against a blockade of such duration that the shores of the United Kingdom are to be defended.

The uses of steam in actions with forts arise from the continuous and steady rapidity with which the approach is made, and the impetus of advance maintained, even in a tideway; thus enabling a steam-ship not only to pass hostile batteries, but to overcome with ease such obstacles as are presented by floating booms, or in stockaded channels. In the first Chinese war, the *Nemesis* tore up barriers driven down in the shallow, flooded paddy fields; and in the Baltic war, Sir Henry Keppel, it is stated, proposed to force the passage of the Aland Islands with his frigate's bows, strengthened with planking, and padded with the hammocks of the ship's company, as the Arctic navigator charges an ice pack. A bold plan, and reputed feasible!

The coal-bunkers of a screw steam-ship make the engine-room impervious to horizontal fire, except of very heavy ordnance; and if vertical fire were attempted, the parabola described by a falling shell would very seldom include within its curve all the hatchways above the engine-room. A martello tower under the altered conditions of littoral warfare is strong rather from position than from construction. When a tower is so placed as to cover with its fire the channel that a heavy vessel of considerable draught of water must take, the effect of the fire has been found to be considerable, although the angle of depression is sometimes too great for very effective service. But the light draught of steamers, and the rapidity with which a point of danger is passed, have combined to reduce the effect produced by the heavy armament of these works. If, indeed, a ship-of-war at anchor engages a martello tower, the plunging fire would be fatal to the wooden battery, as was shown in the action of the *Pompée*, in 1806, in the Gulf of Policastro, on the coast of Italy.* But the ship would probably be freed from the consequences of such rough handling by the expedient adopted at length on that occasion, namely, by landing a party of marines. For there is in every martello tower, if not rendered unapproachable by a ditch, a point of impunity at the foot of the wall from which an assailant can be dislodged only by hand-grenades, by shells, or cold shot projected

* *The Great War with France*, 1799—1810, pp. 267-8. By Lieut.-General Sir H. Bunbury. London, 1854, 8vo.

by hand, and then with very uncertain effect; and the assailing party, if not dislodged, prepares to mine, unless a surrender makes that operation needless, as was the practice of our squadrons on the coast of Spain during the French war. Or, if the defensibility of the martello tower be ensured, the fire of a single gun, or even of two, directed against the dispersed boats of a frigate would be of little avail. If an enemy were landed, it is highly probable that the long-range musketry would keep down the fire of the tower; especially as, from the nature of the work, the gun is mounted 'en barbette'—that is, on exposed platforms. The most effectual way of disturbing a disembarkation from a ship-of-war would be by field batteries, keeping abreast, moving parallel to her course. Screw steam-ships might probably be disabled by pitching shells, with fuses bored for a longer range than the actual distance, under the stern, and thus to injure the shaft or screw.

Coast batteries could be rapidly and serviceably constructed in turf, calculated to carry platforms for not more than five degrees of depression above the water-level; 'a fleur d'eau,' and armed with guns of position, 18-pounders, brought down from a central point in the interior. To each battery should be attached one of Anderson's furnaces, which heat shot red-hot in forty-five minutes. Straith, in his work on *Fortification and Artillery*, quotes a case to illustrate the superiority of ordnance on shore over that in ships. It is taken from the *United Service Journal*, No. 46. When Lord Lynedoch was advancing towards Antwerp in 1814, a fort of 2 guns, one an 18-pounder, the other a 5½-inch howitzer, was thrown up on a bend formed by the Polder Dyke, some distance below Lillo. The 18-pounder was at a right angle to the course of the river, the howitzer looked diagonally up the stream. A French 84-gun ship dropped down with the tide, and anchored about 600 yards from the battery; from her position she was exposed to the fire of the howitzer only. After a constant fire kept up for five hours, the French ship hauled off, having had forty-one men killed and wounded. The howitzer was not dismounted, nor was the fort injured, and the English lost only one man killed and two wounded. In particular positions, picket towers, as proposed by Major-General Lewis, R.E., and used on the Cape frontier, might be usefully placed. The armament is either a 12-pounder field gun, or a 24-pounder iron howitzer; the garrison, a gunner and seven privates. Of raft batteries on the cellular construction a larger trial is required, but it is believed that their employment will be most useful.

The second or littoral line of defence, when sailing vessels

alone are employed, was excellently adapted for guarding assumed points of approach or assault, so long as vessels of war were compelled to respect shoal water, tideways, and currents. But the new motive force has so far neutralized the effect of these obstacles, that a further and more elaborate system of defence must be devised; and this is to be found in a permanent organization and scientific development of the militia, or Army of Reserve, covering the regular forces or central Army of Manœuvre.

Now, the same demand for colonial and political service which reduces the disposable strength of the Royal Navy, has its effect on the land forces. One-fourth of the soldier's term of duty is passed in the United Kingdom, probably at the outset of his career, when he is learning the duty he is to discharge in all quarters of the globe. 'Per mare per terram' might be borne on the colours of the British infantry of the line, as well as on those of the Royal Marines. Since the Roman legions carried their eagles into our land, no army has discharged, or even has been entrusted with, the manifold duties that devolve on the British soldier. Pass to some summer camp. Look down the line of that terrible infantry! There will be noted the living presence of those warriors who have dared death in the swamps of Holland and of Java, on the sierras of the Spanish and in the jungles of the Indian peninsulas, who emerged with honour from the disasters of Coruña, and withstood the long leaguer of Jellalabad.

There are grey, honoured heads in that glittering staff of men who stood beside Wellington at Waterloo; whose skilled hands laid the guns that hurled their storm of shot above the heads of the stormers, grimly pausing, but not for retreat, before the curtain of St. Sebastian; and of those who poured the tempest of British artillery on the Russian batteries. And beside them ride veterans, skilful of attack and defence, who, fifty years since, arrested the march of French conquest, and to whose genius it has been given, in later years, to guide the might of England on the bleak downs of the Tauric Chersonesus. In these ranks are some who have seen the first inroad into the Chinese empire; and some who recognised in the stout heart of the New Zealand warrior, the spirit of a race too noble to be helplessly extinguished in the advance of colonization.

There march the enduring soldiers who shed the tears of brave comrades above the grave of Fordyce in that rugged kloof, and they who restored the rule of temperate authority in a misguided colony. There ride the comrades of the horsemen who dared the advance of Balaclava, and the stalwart

soldiers whose earlier charge pierced through and through the heavy columns of the Russian horse. There sweep past the artillery who fight at this day as those gunners fought under Norman Ramsay, worthy brothers-in-arms of the men whose fire laid in ruin the mounds of Sebastopol; and beside them move and mingle, in that ever-lengthening tide of war, regiments whose solidity, proud bearing, and firm advance vindicate their place in that host—regiments whose names recal the days when military service was still feudal, and before the uniformity of military administration had dissociated the soldier from his parish comrade and his county chiefs.

When the Queen of England looks down on the masses that march past her charger, she gazes upon a nobler host than did the great king on the eve of Salamis; on men whose free service is given to war for the right—neither for the consolidation of extravagant schemes of empire, nor for dynastic aggrandizement. For war for the right;—such war as was waged by Elizabeth, by Cromwell, and by the third William, when each, in discharge of the task which England imposes on her rulers, rebuked, unfaltering, schemes of ambition with a policy and a success unvarying for three hundred years. And while these brilliant soldiers display to the summer sun their bravery of banner and of plume, let it not be forgotten that the spirit rises as high amid danger and in the face of imminent destruction, as it now swells with a graceful pride on that breezy heath. They pass—men of the self-same temper, blood, and training as those who perished on the sinking deck of the *Birkenhead*, and amidst the blazing timbers of the *Europa*. When the glory of the British arms is praised at the loudest, let there always be heard a trumpet note of honour and of national gratitude to those men who, undismayed amidst wreck and fire, gave their lives that the helpless might be saved, and at the call of duty went calmly down to the devouring deep in their unbroken array! Nor be there less honour to the British soldiers who in the *Sarah Sands* proved their sterling courage with a happier fate.

Such varied duties require a proportionate excellence in the troops, and circumspection in the recruitment of the enormous body of soldiers which the Imperial service demands, and that a careful preparation be made for the exigencies of a service whose ordinary duties are more exhausting than the warfare of other nations.

It may safely be affirmed that a well-regulated militia system would not raise levies in excess of the military demands of the State. If the regular army and the militia army compete, material is wasted and the quality of the supply de-

teriorated. But if the conditions of the position be definitively recognised and accepted—if it be decided that there shall be an Army of Active Service, an Army of Reserve, and a Pensioner Army—then that free correspondence between the services will be secured which leads the soldier to consider the profession honourable,—a profession and not a resource—a profession which he embraces deliberately, and quits only that he may discharge, in civil life, the duties which a youth passed under improving discipline has taught him to fulfil with credit. And, in treating this subject, the public mind has at length arrived at a just conclusion on the tendencies of the military system in England. It has unlearned the old dogma which taught the Crown that a militia was dangerous to monarchical government; and the subject, that a standing army was fatal to liberty.

Civil rule and just obedience to the law characterize the descendants of the men who last drew sword in civil conflict on the English soil; and it is notable how, in the heat of that stubborn struggle, the measure of military action was wisely adjusted to the necessities of the case. Truly and well has our latest historian vindicated the high public spirit, and forbearing, yet resolute valour, of the soldiers of the Great Rebellion.

But the militia system having been replaced by the Continental administration in military matters introduced by William III., the national defence was confided for many years almost exclusively to the regular forces. And indeed, when it was seen how slight was the opposition made by local forces to the inroad of the Pretender in 1745, reasons of State might well induce the reigning sovereign not to entrust military organization to hands either feeble or faithless.

At the close of the Seven Years' War, the new era of military operations had commenced; the comparatively small corps which had formed the manœuvring armies of the Continent were about to give place to armies of vast proportion, untrammelled by conventional rules of strategy, of tactics, or of supply. Turenne's axiom that no general could manœuvre an army of more than 50,000 men, had grown obsolete. An impulse was about to be conveyed to armies which, in its social bearing, would give a character of nationality to the wars of the Continent, such as they had not usually borne, and which would interest the passions of the soldier as much as of the general, or of the politician who urged on the war. Yet a few years, and the first battles of the French armies, still fighting under the standard of the king, would show what the

national enthusiasm could dare when the soil of France was invaded. Yet a few more, and the French Republic had rolled back war upon Europe. From this first-named period the writers on the defence of England commence the course of suggestions and of warning, contemporaneously with a general employment of the militia Army of Reserve.

The earliest of these writers, in point of publication, was General Lloyd,* a man of much experience and of a varied life. He had originally been in the service of the French ministry, and had surveyed the southern and western coasts of England in the interests of the Pretender. He subsequently transferred to the British Government, for a pension, the knowledge which he had obtained in that foreign service. General Lloyd assumes that an invading force could be landed on the south-western coast of England simultaneously with an expedition directed on the Bay of Galway.

He proposes to interpose three army corps between the invader and the capital, and bases his defence, to a great extent, on the inclosed nature of the country. He places one-third of the regular forces on Haldon Hill, near Exeter; one-third at Portsdown, and in the New Forest; the remaining third on an affluent of the Medway, the River Teise. He holds the chief danger to be in the enemy's contenting himself with the occupation of the peninsula of Devon and Cornwall; and he states that, having considered the probabilities of a successful invasion in 1779, he wished, 'when he considered the subject in a military light only, almost, that the enemy had made such an attempt, because, once for all, they would have seen the absurdity and danger of it, and we should for ever be cured of our fears.' This work was translated into French by M. Imbert, in 1801, and a commentary published by Grobert, Chef-de-Brigade, in 1803, in which Lloyd's conclusions are controverted.

At the same period the talents of General Roy had been directed, with a legitimate industry and under the regulation of a clear intellect, to a general consideration of the defensibility of the coasts of the English Channel. His views are detailed in the life of the late Sir Harry Calvert, and show the comprehensive genius of the author.† His plans are based on a defence originated from the three natural ramparts of the North and South Downs and of the Midland Range, which are interposed between the coasts of Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, and the capital. He points out the strong posts that each line

* Lloyd on the *Invasion and Defence of Great Britain and Ireland.* London, 1808, 8vo.

† *Journal and Correspondence of General Sir Harry Calvert, G.C.B.* London, 1853, 8vo.

furnishes, and attentively weighs the value of these positions. His forethought is strikingly displayed in the preparations for removing the supplies which an invaded district could furnish; and in this, as in other of his works, the genius of a provident soldier is abundantly shown.

The plans published by Lieutenant-General Birch, R.E.,* in 1808, are valuable. He appears thoroughly to have appreciated the earnest spirit which the wars of the French Revolution had developed: he evidently felt that the national instinct which breathed such energy into the soldiers of the French empire, and animated their wonderful labours, must be met by a regulated, stern, and enduring hardihood. He notices, like General Lloyd, the strategic difficulties of defence which result from the elongated shape of England and of its peninsulas, and proposes to deal therewith by the artificial obstacles of entrenched camps, and of fortified towns and forts.

Lieutenant-General Birch reminds us that in 1795, in the winter following Lord Howe's victory of the 1st of June, the French fleet of 35 sail-of-the-line kept the sea for forty days. In 1796 the French fleet remained for a month in Bantry Bay. In 1798 Napoleon navigated, with 15 sail-of-the-line, the narrow Mediterranean in the neighbourhood of Lord Nelson, and effected his conquest. In April, 1779, Admiral Brueix, with 25 sail-of-the-line, sailed from Brest, Lord Bridport having been driven off his post by an easterly wind. On resuming his station the next day, Lord Bridport sailed, in search of the enemy, to Ireland. The French entered the Mediterranean, formed a junction with the Spanish fleet at Carthagena, were detained three days in sight of Gibraltar, left Cadiz on the 21st of July, and shortly afterwards re-entered Brest, there to be blockaded to the end of the war. On the 19th June, 1805, the *Curieux* met the squadron of Admiral Villeneuve by chance in the middle of the Atlantic, and the information thus obtained led to Sir Robert Calder's action of the 22nd July.

Notice is taken of the plan of Carnot, which Lieutenant-General Birch had seen, to land two corps in England, one in Sussex and one in Yorkshire, while General Hoche was to have landed in Ireland; and he remarks, 'The limited extent of this country would enable an enemy, if he were at first successful, to push any defeated corps to extremity, and force it either to lay down its arms or drive it into the sea. The long band or neck of land which the country forms might enable him, by landing

* *Memoir on National Defence.* By J. F. Birch, Capt. R.E. London, 1808, 8vo.

detached corps on the flank or flanks of his principal line of operations, not only to deprive the country of the co-operation of its different parts, but to operate himself on the rear of our chief line of operations, which could not but be attended in the present circumstances with the worst physical as well as moral influence on the troops.' He remarks that the French troops were excellent light infantry, and that open country would be the more favourable to us, on account of our superiority in horse artillery and cavalry. He therefore advocates the establishment of fortifications to shelter troops inferior, at first, in discipline or in number, to secure magazines and depôts, and to form bases for lines of operations, as well as a rendezvous for the active and armed population of the country. These works should, he thinks, be of the nature of an entrenched camp, covering a river, or great commercial or maritime town, on the principle on which Alexandria and Cairo were fortified by the French. He suggests that London, Hull, Liverpool, and Bristol should be considered as indicating the bases of lines of operation in each direction, and in rear of these lines should be established secondary positions intermediate between these angular points, and there forming a second line of defence. One upon the Isis, near Oxford, on the south; near Northampton, on the east; on the Nene, or on the Ouse, about Huntingdon, on the north, so as to command the Trent; on the west upon the Severn; and one in the centre of the kingdom, upon the Avon, near Rugby or Warwick. 'They would thus all support the principal national lines of defence of the country, which are the principal rivers;' and he sums up thus: 'In fine, our fortifications would enable us to avail ourselves to the utmost of the whole force of the State, to oppose to our invaders a resistance of a very different kind from that of unprepared, distracted, tumultuary warfare.'

These three writers, then—General Lloyd, Major-General Roy, with notes and illustrations given in the life of Sir Harry Calvert, and Lieutenant-General Birch, R.E.—may be considered the founders of the original school of strategists who wrote on the invasion of England. They projected a defence perhaps too exclusively based on the principles of *la grande guerre*. Nor did they take into account the support to be received from the organization of a home Army of Reserve, which should add to high military training efficiency derived from local knowledge and preparation. And they abstained too rigidly, in accordance with this reasoning, from resting a large portion of defence on national, as distinguished from purely professional resources. Of these three writers, Lieutenant-General Birch, as it seems, has seized the question with

the largest grasp. From 1808 the apprehension of invasion subsided, and for nearly forty years public attention was not pointedly directed towards this subject, until the famous letter of the Duke of Wellington to Sir John Burgoyne spurred the attention of sluggish minds. And the opinion of this tried soldier has not been withheld on several subsequent occasions. In a memorandum on the possible results of a war with France, are to be found many valuable suggestions; and in his writings this is especially observable, as in the remarks of military men generally, that their tone is free from menace, as from national jealousies; they do nothing in hate, but all in honour. 'France,' says Sir John Burgoyne (1846), 'has always from 100,000 to 150,000 soldiers available for offensive operations, without compromising the security of any of her possessions or establishments; while there may be in Great Britain and Ireland perhaps 30,000 regular troops of all arms. The militia would require the support of nearly double their number of regulars, which would render them probably absolutely, or nearly, on an equality on the day of battle. It is believed that there is not in the British Islands a sufficiency of field artillery for the equipment of an army of 20,000 men. Of small arms and minor stores, there is a great if not a total deficiency. To add to this defective condition, we are all but absolutely without that useful auxiliary in defensive warfare, namely, fortresses. The effects of steamers will render it far more difficult to maintain the blockade now than during the French revolutionary war. And when a fleet leaves a port unobserved by our blockading force, as has frequently occurred, there are often great doubts as to its destination and objects. Lord Nelson sailed to the West Indies in search of a fleet that was quietly going up the Mediterranean. The conclusion I would come to is that, if not probable, it is at least more than possible, that a temporary superiority might be obtained in the Channel sufficient for the purpose of invasion in great force; and that if such an attempt should then be made, it is more than probable that it would be successful, and that London itself might be in the hands of the enemy in less than ten days.' And in 1850 Sir John Burgoyne says, 'It is here to be remarked that the relative power of an organized army is greatly augmented with increasing numbers; thus, 20,000 troops would contend better with 200,000 of a resisting population than 20 against 2000, or 2 against 20. At the battle of St. Vincent, although we possessed, according to La Gravière, 108 sail-of-the-line and 400 other armed vessels, we could not send more than 5 sail-of-the-line to reinforce Admiral Jervis, making up 15 ships to oppose

to the Spanish fleet of 25 sail; and the quality of good seamanship being less predominant, we lose a great national advantage.' 'A French commission of officers, in a report to their government in 1848, say, "It must not be forgotten that the principal alterations in naval affairs since the peace of 1815, as regards the relative position of England and France, are favourable to France. Steam navigation and the employment of heavy shell guns on board ship are the most important, and will give a great advantage to France as well as other maritime powers which have but a small comparative number of seamen." From Dunkirk to Cherbourg, a length of 200 miles of coast, they are only from 3 to 10 or 12 hours' reach of as long a line of ours by wind and steam. It is not necessary that 100,000 men should be landed at once: a very far less number would suffice for the first firm footing, which being once obtained, reinforcements would follow as fast as each single vessel, acting independently, could carry them, and finally have taken possession of both shores, the communication could not be interrupted between the two countries, even although we should then be able to retain or resume a naval superiority. And the *Allgemeine Zeitung* suggests that a few hundred fishing boats towed across the Channel by steamers, in the course of a calm and cloudy night, might easily transport a considerable French force to the shores of Albion.'* And Sir John Burgoyne continues:—'Our national safety should be established on a basis of certainty, and not of chance.' 'England is the only country thoroughly and universally impressed with a desire for peace. We are, then, the least military of nations, and have no indirect military resources.' 'But the propriety of a degree of preparation may be argued even on the principle of economy, for it will greatly tend to avert war by removing from foreign powers a temptation to molest us, and by giving force to our negotiations, which, from our very condition, and the feelings of our population, must always be pacific.' 'It is very well to talk of husbanding your financial resources for war. When once embarked in hostilities, and in a position to maintain your ground, large financial means, freely and judi-

* A very narrow belt of darkness is interspersed between the Light-zones of the English and of the French coast. Between Brest and the Lizard, 50 nautical miles; the Eddystone, 72; the Scilly Light, 65. Between St. Malo and the Start Point, 47. Between Cherbourg and Torbay, 27. The Bill of Portland, 15. The Isle of Wight, 27. Coast west of the Seine to the Owers, 75. To Beachy Head, 58. Coast east of the Seine to the south coast of England, from 10—20 nautical miles.

ciously made use of, will ultimately command success, but no accumulation of funds can provide a timely remedy for the innate weakness that cannot resist the first blows dealt.' 'The means that would give a reasonable chance of security, and that would possibly tend to remove from the minds of foreigners the impression that we are so vulnerable as is now believed, would be a power to bring rapidly into action to any part attacked a force of 100,000 troops and 100 pieces of cannon, without completely abandoning posts and districts that ought at all times to be guarded.' Sir John Burgoyne further recommends the employment of militia and volunteers under reasonable arrangements, and most judiciously protests against the three leading fallacies as to the power of England to resist invasion—namely, the spirit of the people,—the tactical advantage to be derived from an enclosed country covering irregulars armed with rifles,—and economy in financial expenditure. The first and last have been already exposed. The second is a fallacy as respects any check to the movement of troops on good roads, since hedge-rows would, to a considerable extent, screen the movements of an enemy's columns; and the south of England is eminently unfavourable for internal defence on this base, the only strong line of positions being that of the Kent and Surrey hills. In addition to the militia of the line, the enrolment of volunteers for the protection of their own districts, particularly on the coast, is recommended; as also of volunteer corps of a class able to bear their own expenses; to be attached to regiments; and probably under discipline of so much less than usual stringency as might be justified by the superior composition of this force. The probable defects of the militia system are indicated with a laudable frankness; defects which are now proved to have been obviated by the conduct and bearing of the militia regiments embodied during the Russian war and the Indian revolt. In a judicious article on 'Military Estimates,' Sir John Burgoyne proposes that the reserve required for foreign service should 'be maintained in the British Islands at the point which will, in the early stage of any war, first furnish protection to the country; then, strengthen our most exposed possessions; and finally, be available for aggressive operations.' Invasion must be eventually retorted on to the soil of the aggressor; in the case contemplated, a movement of no overwhelming difficulty or peril, justified as it would be by unprovoked aggression, and conducted for a final decisive purpose.

In the later school of literary strategists, the two other names most noticeable are those of Major-General Lewis, R.E.,

and of Baron Maurice de Sellon. It is to this latter writer that this country is indebted for a profound and searching analysis of the resources which could be accumulated for invasion. The writer has also investigated with much pains the circumstances of the country and the means of national defence existing at the time he wrote. He assumes the command of the sea for the invader. His invading army is distributed into three army corps :—

The army of	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Field-guns and siege.	Artillery.	Waggon Train.	Engineers.	Number of Combatants.
Bristol, mustering	25,000	5,000	100	1,000	661	500	
Plymouth	25,000	5,000	100	10,250	807	2,000	
Rye	60,000	12,000	250	2,500	1,502	500	151,800
	110,000	22,000	450	13,750	2,970	3,000	

These army corps will advance concentrically on London, subject only to such resistance as they might encounter from three weak divisions of 21,000 each, of which 30,000 are assumed to be enrolled pensioners, and 8000 composed of dockyard battalions.

It is concluded also that the British divisions could not reach Plymouth by railway in less than 118¼ hours, Bristol in 111 hours, Hastings in 109¼ hours, from the time that the signal of invasion was given.

A disembarkation is proposed at the mouth of the Avon ; in Plymouth Sound ; and at Rye. The separate distribution of the Army of Invasion is justified, because the small numbers of the British army are its weak point, and because means of transport would be found more easily for those district corps moving on separate lines of operation. Plymouth is selected, since the inferior capacity of the harbour will not permit the assembly of so large a fleet as at Spithead for defence ; and when Plymouth has fallen, Portsmouth might be taken from the Gosport side. Baron Maurice, assuming the unresisted march of the invading force, suggests three plans for the defence of the capital :—

First, To convert London into a large fortress by surrounding it with thirty forts.

Secondly, By covering the approaches to the capital by continuous lines, interrupted, as at Paris, by forts (which proposition he rejects) ; and,

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national enthusiasm could dare when the soil of France was invaded. Yet a few more, and the French Republic had rolled back war upon Europe. From this first-named period the writers on the defence of England commence the course of suggestions and of warning, contemporaneously with a general employment of the militia Army of Reserve.

The earliest of these writers, in point of publication, was General Lloyd,* a man of much experience and of a varied life. He had originally been in the service of the French ministry, and had surveyed the southern and western coasts of England in the interests of the Pretender. He subsequently transferred to the British Government, for a pension, the knowledge which he had obtained in that foreign service. General Lloyd assumes that an invading force could be landed on the south-western coast of England simultaneously with an expedition directed on the Bay of Galway.

He proposes to interpose three army corps between the invader and the capital, and bases his defence, to a great extent, on the inclosed nature of the country. He places one-third of the regular forces on Haldon Hill, near Exeter; one-third at Portsdown, and in the New Forest; the remaining third on an affluent of the Medway, the River Teise. He holds the chief danger to be in the enemy's contenting himself with the occupation of the peninsula of Devon and Cornwall; and he states that, having considered the probabilities of a successful invasion in 1779, he wished, 'when he considered the subject in a military light only, almost, that the enemy had made such an attempt, because, once for all, they would have seen the absurdity and danger of it, and we should for ever be cured of our fears.' This work was translated into French by M. Imbert, in 1801, and a commentary published by Grobert, Chef-de-Brigade, in 1803, in which Lloyd's conclusions are controverted.

At the same period the talents of General Roy had been directed, with a legitimate industry and under the regulation of a clear intellect, to a general consideration of the defensibility of the coasts of the English Channel. His views are detailed in the life of the late Sir Harry Calvert, and show the comprehensive genius of the author.† His plans are based on a defence originated from the three natural ramparts of the North and South Downs and of the Midland Range, which are interposed between the coasts of Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, and the capital. He points out the strong posts that each line

* Lloyd on the *Invasion and Defence of Great Britain and Ireland.* London, 1808, 8vo.

† *Journal and Correspondence of General Sir Harry Calvert, G.C.B.* London, 1853, 8vo.

furnishes, and attentively weighs the value of these positions. His forethought is strikingly displayed in the preparations for removing the supplies which an invaded district could furnish; and in this, as in other of his works, the genius of a provident soldier is abundantly shown.

The plans published by Lieutenant-General Birch, R.E.,* in 1808, are valuable. He appears thoroughly to have appreciated the earnest spirit which the wars of the French Revolution had developed: he evidently felt that the national instinct which breathed such energy into the soldiers of the French empire, and animated their wonderful labours, must be met by a regulated, stern, and enduring hardihood. He notices, like General Lloyd, the strategic difficulties of defence which result from the elongated shape of England and of its peninsulas, and proposes to deal therewith by the artificial obstacles of entrenched camps, and of fortified towns and forts.

Lieutenant-General Birch reminds us that in 1795, in the winter following Lord Howe's victory of the 1st of June, the French fleet of 35 sail-of-the-line kept the sea for forty days. In 1796 the French fleet remained for a month in Bantry Bay. In 1798 Napoleon navigated, with 15 sail-of-the-line, the narrow Mediterranean in the neighbourhood of Lord Nelson, and effected his conquest. In April, 1779, Admiral Brueix, with 25 sail-of-the-line, sailed from Brest, Lord Bridport having been driven off his post by an easterly wind. On resuming his station the next day, Lord Bridport sailed, in search of the enemy, to Ireland. The French entered the Mediterranean, formed a junction with the Spanish fleet at Carthagena, were detained three days in sight of Gibraltar, left Cadiz on the 21st of July, and shortly afterwards re-entered Brest, there to be blockaded to the end of the war. On the 19th June, 1805, the *Curieux* met the squadron of Admiral Villeneuve by chance in the middle of the Atlantic, and the information thus obtained led to Sir Robert Calder's action of the 22nd July.

Notice is taken of the plan of Carnot, which Lieutenant-General Birch had seen, to land two corps in England, one in Sussex and one in Yorkshire, while General Hoche was to have landed in Ireland; and he remarks, 'The limited extent of this country would enable an enemy, if he were at first successful, to push any defeated corps to extremity, and force it either to lay down its arms or drive it into the sea. The long band or neck of land which the country forms might enable him, by landing

* *Memoir on National Defence.* By J. F. Birch, Capt. R.E. London, 1808, 8vo.

detached corps on the flank or flanks of his principal line of operations, not only to deprive the country of the co-operation of its different parts, but to operate himself on the rear of our chief line of operations, which could not but be attended in the present circumstances with the worst physical as well as moral influence on the troops.' He remarks that the French troops were excellent light infantry, and that open country would be the more favourable to us, on account of our superiority in horse artillery and cavalry. He therefore advocates the establishment of fortifications to shelter troops inferior, at first, in discipline or in number, to secure magazines and depôts, and to form bases for lines of operations, as well as a rendezvous for the active and armed population of the country. These works should, he thinks, be of the nature of an entrenched camp, covering a river, or great commercial or maritime town, on the principle on which Alexandria and Cairo were fortified by the French. He suggests that London, Hull, Liverpool, and Bristol should be considered as indicating the bases of lines of operation in each direction, and in rear of these lines should be established secondary positions intermediate between these angular points, and there forming a second line of defence. One upon the Isis, near Oxford, on the south; near Northampton, on the east; on the Nene, or on the Ouse, about Huntingdon, on the north, so as to command the Trent; on the west upon the Severn; and one in the centre of the kingdom, upon the Avon, near Rugby or Warwick. 'They would thus all support the principal national lines of defence of the country, which are the principal rivers;' and he sums up thus: 'In fine, our fortifications would enable us to avail ourselves to the utmost of the whole force of the State, to oppose to our invaders a resistance of a very different kind from that of unprepared, distracted, tumultuary warfare.'

These three writers, then—General Lloyd, Major-General Roy, with notes and illustrations given in the life of Sir Harry Calvert, and Lieutenant-General Birch, R.E.—may be considered the founders of the original school of strategists who wrote on the invasion of England. They projected a defence perhaps too exclusively based on the principles of *la grande guerre*. Nor did they take into account the support to be received from the organization of a home Army of Reserve, which should add to high military training efficiency derived from local knowledge and preparation. And they abstained too rigidly, in accordance with this reasoning, from resting a large portion of defence on national, as distinguished from purely professional resources. Of these three writers, Lieutenant-General Birch, as it seems, has seized the question with

the largest grasp. From 1808 the apprehension of invasion subsided, and for nearly forty years public attention was not pointedly directed towards this subject, until the famous letter of the Duke of Wellington to Sir John Burgoyne spurred the attention of sluggish minds. And the opinion of this tried soldier has not been withheld on several subsequent occasions. In a memorandum on the possible results of a war with France, are to be found many valuable suggestions; and in his writings this is especially observable, as in the remarks of military men generally, that their tone is free from menace, as from national jealousies; they do nothing in hate, but all in honour. 'France,' says Sir John Burgoyne (1846), 'has always from 100,000 to 150,000 soldiers available for offensive operations, without compromising the security of any of her possessions or establishments; while there may be in Great Britain and Ireland perhaps 30,000 regular troops of all arms. The militia would require the support of nearly double their number of regulars, which would render them probably absolutely, or nearly, on an equality on the day of battle. It is believed that there is not in the British Islands a sufficiency of field artillery for the equipment of an army of 20,000 men. Of small arms and minor stores, there is a great if not a total deficiency. To add to this defective condition, we are all but absolutely without that useful auxiliary in defensive warfare, namely, fortresses. The effects of steamers will render it far more difficult to maintain the blockade now than during the French revolutionary war. And when a fleet leaves a port unobserved by our blockading force, as has frequently occurred, there are often great doubts as to its destination and objects. Lord Nelson sailed to the West Indies in search of a fleet that was quietly going up the Mediterranean. The conclusion I would come to is that, if not probable, it is at least more than possible, that a temporary superiority might be obtained in the Channel sufficient for the purpose of invasion in great force; and that if such an attempt should then be made, it is more than probable that it would be successful, and that London itself might be in the hands of the enemy in less than ten days.' And in 1850 Sir John Burgoyne says, 'It is here to be remarked that the relative power of an organized army is greatly augmented with increasing numbers; thus, 20,000 troops would contend better with 200,000 of a resisting population than 20 against 2000, or 2 against 20. At the battle of St. Vincent, although we possessed, according to La Gravière, 108 sail-of-the-line and 400 other armed vessels, we could not send more than 5 sail-of-the-line to reinforce Admiral Jervis, making up 15 ships to oppose

to the Spanish fleet of 25 sail; and the quality of good seamanship being less predominant, we lose a great national advantage.' 'A French commission of officers, in a report to their government in 1848, say, "It must not be forgotten that the principal alterations in naval affairs since the peace of 1815, as regards the relative position of England and France, are favourable to France. Steam navigation and the employment of heavy shell guns on board ship are the most important, and will give a great advantage to France as well as other maritime powers which have but a small comparative number of seamen." From Dunkirk to Cherbourg, a length of 200 miles of coast, they are only from 3 to 10 or 12 hours' reach of as long a line of ours by wind and steam. It is not necessary that 100,000 men should be landed at once: a very far less number would suffice for the first firm footing, which being once obtained, reinforcements would follow as fast as each single vessel, acting independently, could carry them, and finally have taken possession of both shores, the communication could not be interrupted between the two countries, even although we should then be able to retain or resume a naval superiority. And the *Allgemeine Zeitung* suggests that a few hundred fishing boats towed across the Channel by steamers, in the course of a calm and cloudy night, might easily transport a considerable French force to the shores of Albion.'* And Sir John Burgoyne continues:—'Our national safety should be established on a basis of certainty, and not of chance.' 'England is the only country thoroughly and universally impressed with a desire for peace. We are, then, the least military of nations, and have no indirect military resources.' 'But the propriety of a degree of preparation may be argued even on the principle of economy, for it will greatly tend to avert war by removing from foreign powers a temptation to molest us, and by giving force to our negotiations, which, from our very condition, and the feelings of our population, must always be pacific.' 'It is very well to talk of husbanding your financial resources for war. When once embarked in hostilities, and in a position to maintain your ground, large financial means, freely and judi-

* A very narrow belt of darkness is interspersed between the Light-zones of the English and of the French coast. Between Brest and the Lizard, 50 nautical miles; the Eddystone, 72; the Scilly Light, 65. Between St. Malo and the Start Point, 47. Between Cherbourg and Torbay, 27. The Bill of Portland, 15. The Isle of Wight, 27. Coast west of the Seine to the Owers, 75. To Beachy Head, 58. Coast east of the Seine to the south coast of England, from 10—20 nautical miles.

ciously made use of, will ultimately command success, but no accumulation of funds can provide a timely remedy for the innate weakness that cannot resist the first blows dealt.' 'The means that would give a reasonable chance of security, and that would possibly tend to remove from the minds of foreigners the impression that we are so vulnerable as is now believed, would be a power to bring rapidly into action to any part attacked a force of 100,000 troops and 100 pieces of cannon, without completely abandoning posts and districts that ought at all times to be guarded.' Sir John Burgoyne further recommends the employment of militia and volunteers under reasonable arrangements, and most judiciously protests against the three leading fallacies as to the power of England to resist invasion—namely, the spirit of the people,—the tactical advantage to be derived from an enclosed country covering irregulars armed with rifles,—and economy in financial expenditure. The first and last have been already exposed. The second is a fallacy as respects any check to the movement of troops on good roads, since hedge-rows would, to a considerable extent, screen the movements of an enemy's columns; and the south of England is eminently unfavourable for internal defence on this base, the only strong line of positions being that of the Kent and Surrey hills. In addition to the militia of the line, the enrolment of volunteers for the protection of their own districts, particularly on the coast, is recommended; as also of volunteer corps of a class able to bear their own expenses; to be attached to regiments; and probably under discipline of so much less than usual stringency as might be justified by the superior composition of this force. The probable defects of the militia system are indicated with a laudable frankness; defects which are now proved to have been obviated by the conduct and bearing of the militia regiments embodied during the Russian war and the Indian revolt. In a judicious article on 'Military Estimates,' Sir John Burgoyne proposes that the reserve required for foreign service should 'be maintained in the British Islands at the point which will, in the early stage of any war, first furnish protection to the country; then, strengthen our most exposed possessions; and finally, be available for aggressive operations.' Invasion must be eventually retorted on to the soil of the aggressor; in the case contemplated, a movement of no overwhelming difficulty or peril, justified as it would be by unprovoked aggression, and conducted for a final decisive purpose.

In the later school of literary strategists, the two other names most noticeable are those of Major-General Lewis, R.E.,

and of Baron Maurice de Sellon. It is to this latter writer that this country is indebted for a profound and searching analysis of the resources which could be accumulated for invasion. The writer has also investigated with much pains the circumstances of the country and the means of national defence existing at the time he wrote. He assumes the command of the sea for the invader. His invading army is distributed into three army corps :—

The army of	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Field-guns and siege.	Artillery.	Waggon Train.	Engineers.	Number of Combatants.
Bristol, mustering	25,000	5,000	100	1,000	661	500	
Plymouth	25,000	5,000	100	10,250	807	2,000	
Rye	60,000	12,000	250	2,500	1,502	500	151,800
	110,000	22,000	450	13,750	2,970	3,000	

These army corps will advance concentrically on London, subject only to such resistance as they might encounter from three weak divisions of 21,000 each, of which 30,000 are assumed to be enrolled pensioners, and 8000 composed of dockyard battalions.

It is concluded also that the British divisions could not reach Plymouth by railway in less than 118¼ hours, Bristol in 111 hours, Hastings in 109¼ hours, from the time that the signal of invasion was given.

A disembarkation is proposed at the mouth of the Avon ; in Plymouth Sound ; and at Rye. The separate distribution of the Army of Invasion is justified, because the small numbers of the British army are its weak point, and because means of transport would be found more easily for those district corps moving on separate lines of operation. Plymouth is selected, since the inferior capacity of the harbour will not permit the assembly of so large a fleet as at Spithead for defence ; and when Plymouth has fallen, Portsmouth might be taken from the Gosport side. Baron Maurice, assuming the unresisted march of the invading force, suggests three plans for the defence of the capital :—

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The militia of Elizabeth amounted to 80,000 men, whose orders were, at the period of the Spanish Invasion, not to come to an engagement, but to lay waste and destroy the country before them. The Royal forces in the Civil Wars amounted to 4000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry; the City militia (Parliamentarian), numbered 12,000 men; and Essex's army was 15,000 strong.

The earliest act for militia service was passed in 1756. The spirit of this enactment is despotic; and the provisions

accordant, yet with an exemption in favour of parliamentary electors. In clause six, it is provided that men not having any lawful calling or employment, or some lawful and sufficient maintenance, shall be levied as soldiers. By clause eight, such persons shall be apprehended, and secured, and delivered into his Majesty's service. By clause ten, twenty shillings are to be paid for each impressed man to the parish officers who raise them; and a sum of not more than forty shillings, nor less than five, to the overseers of the parish in which the new-raised man shall have gained a settlement, and wherein his wife and family may become chargeable. By clause eleven, neither infirm men, nor under the age of seventeen, or above forty-five, or Papists, are to be impressed. By clause twelve, the inhabitants of every parish (not having a lawful or reasonable excuse to the contrary) are bound to aid in the furtherance of his Majesty's service by this act described. By clause sixteen, the impressed men are to be detained in some secure house, or place, or in the county gaol or house of correction. By clause nineteen, no man having a vote in the election of members of Parliament is to be impressed. By clause twenty-three, service is limited to five years. By clause thirty-seven, it is provided that this act shall take effect in a certain place called Threepwood, lying within or near the counties of Chester and Flint, or one of them, and adjoining the town of Cuddington, in the said county of Chester, wherein divers deserters from his Majesty's service have been harboured. But the general scope of this act is of an impressment for limited service rather than for militia purposes, as set forth in the 26th Geo. III. c. 107, the model for successive legislation. In 1757 the aspect of foreign affairs in Europe caused the British government to provide for the security of the coasts of the United Kingdom against invasion. A force of militia was raised in England and Wales of 62,680 men; and in 1762, the last year of the war, the strength of the land forces amounted to 337,106 men, at an average expense of 50*l.* per man = 16,855,300*l.* In 1778 the coasts of the United Kingdom were harassed by privateers; and in 1779 the Channel was swept by the combined fleets of France and Spain. In 1780, 85,000 men were voted for the sea service, 110,000 land service, 42,000 militia and volunteers, foreign troops in British pay 42,000, artillery 6000 = 285,000. In 1782 the whole military force amounted to 195,000 men, and 100,000 seamen and marines. In 1783 the militia was disbanded. In 1792 the militia were again partially embodied. In 1794 measures were taken for augmenting the militia. In 1795, 100,000 men, including militia, were voted for the

land service, and 100,000 seamen. In 1796, on consideration of invasion, Mr. Pitt proposed a levy of 150,000 men to be divided between land and sea service;* and in 1797, a supplementary militia of 60,000 men and 20,000 cavalry. In 1798, English militia regiments were first allowed by law to volunteer into Ireland. In 1799, there were 160 regiments of militia, 30 of fencible cavalry, 42 of fencible infantry; invalid and volunteer corps, 100,000 men, in addition. And in this year Parliament was specially assembled to permit the militia to volunteer to the extent of three-fifths, instead of one-fourth, into the regular army; a measure which was repeated in 1812. In 1804 the army, navy, and militia amounted to 400,000 men, being one in ten of the population capable of bearing arms. In 1807 the militia amounted to 94,202 men, at an estimated cost of 2,493,644*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*; volunteer corps, 1,490,301*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* The total estimate for militia and volunteer corps was 4,203,727*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*

In 1808 Lord Castlereagh raised a local militia of 200,000 men, to be trained twenty-eight days annually. In the original act of 1757, the training was ordered for eight times in the year for half companies; for eight times in whole companies; and four times in regiments. Lord Grenville proposed to divide the kingdom into twelve districts; to train one-fourth of the number to be balloted in each year; one county to be selected in each district; and the whole to be drilled in four years.

When the militia system was reorganized in 1852, a conjectural estimate only could be framed; but, as experience grew, the annual charges assume the character of an average.

In 1854 the training system was in full operation, and an estimate was taken for raising and training, of 575,200*l.*; but the expenditure on this head was reduced to 334,575*l.* from the embodiment of regiments, at the commencement of the Russian war, at a charge of 857,209*l.* The result is, then, that complete training with partial embodiment costs the public 1,191,784*l.* The estimate for the year following, during the severest crisis of the struggle, was 3,435,728*l.* for 127,000 men of all ranks. If the war had continued, the estimate for

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* The land forces, amounting to 206,501, were thus distributed:—

Guards and garrisons	49,219
Colonies	77,868
India	10,000
Militia	42,000
Irish Brigade	4,414
Fencible infantry	13,000
„ cavalry	10,000

1856-57 would have been 3,150,129*l.* The estimate for the Guernsey militia, on the Channel Islands establishment, in 1857-58, was 1380*l.*; for the Jersey corps, 1826*l.*

It may be noted that, when our population and resources were much less numerous and abundant, the country supplied both in a larger proportion than during the Russian war; during a part of the French war the proportion of enrolled English soldiers was one in ten of the population capable of bearing arms, as has been stated.

The proportion of militia for the United Kingdom is now fixed at 80,000 for England, to be raised, on expectation of invasion, to 120,000; for Ireland, 30,000; and for Scotland, 10,000; making a training establishment of 120,000 men, and an invasion establishment of 160,000.

Assuming the entire militia force to be actually under arms, the demand on the resources of the empire would not be excessive, if the standard be adopted of the hottest period of the Russian war; which, when it terminated, found under arms, of British soldiers, not being militia, 90,000 men in the Crimea.

The effective strength of the army—

January 1, 1855 . .	135,088
January 1, 1856 . .	154,806
April 1, 1856 . .	163,333

The gross strength at these periods respectively was 193,670, 206,836, and 206,943. The total number of militia effective in the United Kingdom April 15, 1855 = 61,861.

The total strength of the militia army of reserve for the United Kingdom will be, on the training establishment, thus distributed:—

	Infantry.	Artillery.
England . .	75,500 .	4,500
Scotland . .	8,046 .	1,954
Ireland . .	25,128 .	4,872
	108,674	11,326

It is now proposed to trace the organization of the militia army, from the constitution of the single regiment into the combination of regiments into brigades and divisions; to develope its capacity for defensive purposes; and to show how, by careful and continuous preparation, this army of reserve is competent to maintain an effective defence *en première ligne* against a far larger mass of invading power than has yet been proposed or suggested. In this plan the regular forces have their assigned position, but it is not intended to

discuss their tactics. The strength of the regular army is taken at the lowest, the design being to show the permanent strength of resistance inherent in the militia. And it is for this reason that the yeomanry cavalry, consisting of thirty-three strong regiments, and of fifteen, mustering sixteen and a half squadrons, are massed with the regular cavalry, and not treated as an independent force.

And in this analysis and series of suggestions, the elements of calculation will be drawn from the recognised properties and attributes of the militia service, without reference to the advantages derivable from the spirit of the people, and from circumstances of ground. It is intended to resolve the question into a ponderation of military dynamics; in fact, to show what resistance may be offered by resolute soldiers, as at Borodino, rather than to revive for our imitation the glories of that brave despair which lighted the fires of Moscow.

The general rule of the militia service is, that the officers as well as the volunteers should be taken from the district in which the regiment is raised. The distribution of regiments is local; the primary system of defence should, therefore, in the event of invasion, be special and local also. For, as an invasion must always partake of the nature of a surprise, it is an unnecessary, and probably perilous, anticipation of an enemy's plan of campaign, to distribute the forces of resistance on certain points, arbitrarily assumed, and endowed with an importance which, in his opinion, they may not deserve. It was this error that Napoleon punished so severely, by masking important fortresses in his German campaigns; and it is this error which would perhaps affect the usefulness of the plans of defence which have been elaborated with patriotic earnestness and skill. It is an error least pardonable on the part of a tactician who possesses the permanent advantage of projecting defensive movements from a centre to a circumference, and, consequently, on interior lines of operation. It follows, then, that, to guard against surprise, the normal position of the Army of Reserve, pending a decisive movement on the part of the invader, should be within the district to which the regiment, brigade, or division belongs. But if such be the law of primary organization, and if it appear probable that the services of any one regiment, brigade, or division should be available first within such district, then, in order to a more complete efficiency, each should be specially trained, regard being had to the natural capabilities and features of the district.

The regiment being a corps intended to act first in a particular locality, instruction suitable to the special arm of

the service should be directed to that end. For this is evident, that the essential and primary duty of militia regiments is, on invasion, to fight battles of position, on ground previously selected, and to which the troops should be accustomed. And this, in order to gain time for the general commanding the Army of Manœuvre, massing its central reserves, to prepare these strategic combinations from which important movements originate, and by which battles are decided. Wherefore, the territorial element is most usefully and naturally employed in the preparation of militia regiments for service, on the very ground where the presumption is that their services may be first required, and made most efficient.

Now, this training will necessarily be governed by the nature of the arm to which the regiment belongs, as well as by the features of the country. For instance, since the great war of 1815, a portion of the militia has been formed into regiments of artillery, raised in the maritime counties of the United Kingdom. The position and duties of these regiments point them out as the corps intended to remain on the watch, and to be prepared to fight the battles of position to which the tactics of invasion naturally determine the local forces, and which the genius of the country specially affects. To illustrate the mode of defence which might be adopted in the maritime counties, let the district from which the Suffolk regiment of artillery is raised be topographically examined. Lying between Ipswich and Great Yarmouth, it rises towards the interior into a clay plateau, from which streams flow into the German Ocean, dividing the region into eight fluvial districts. As the inclination of the ground is gentle, it is easy to dam the course of these streams, in order to the formation of a system of defence by inundation. The valleys being laid under water, the progress of an invading force is rendered difficult for infantry, as well as for cavalry, guns, and stores. For it is not the depth of an inundation that is usually to be depended on for impeding an advance, so much as the interruption the obstacles hidden beneath the flood cause to regular formations; and when each stockaded village or bridge may be made the arena of a battle of position, the progress must needs be slow of an enemy who has to force his way across such flooded ground.

In this war of posts, the local knowledge of officers and men should be carefully turned to account. In the Suffolk artillery the officers have been expected to possess, and be able to avail themselves, for the purpose of defensive war, of the knowledge which their local experience has given. And

herein lies a main reason for the territorial constitution of the militia service through all ranks.

It is clear, then, that the militia has its character and uses, which should necessarily be of a local and territorial type. The commanding officer should be thoroughly acquainted with all the military circumstances of the district in which his command lies, in order to inform a general officer both of the weak and strong points of country, the practicable and the broken ground, the coast likely to be selected for disembarkation, and where a battle of position may be judiciously offered and successfully fought. Much advantage might be derived from the employment of yeomanry as rocket troops for volley-firing, and for covering the guns of the militia artillery in their advance on the coasts to which the nature of the service naturally designs them, in addition to their duty of manning coast batteries and of martello towers. The militia artillery can be thoroughly trained to all the duties of field-gun drill, in addition to heavy gun and mortar drill, for the purpose of accumulating masses of fire, on the approach of the enemy. It could be efficiently horsed in the district and trained to the simple manœuvres of war, and covered by the movements of local cavalry. The militia arrangements of a district perfectly prepared against invasion would be these. The commanding officer, being thoroughly acquainted with the country, would have selected beforehand the points on which he would make a stand, protected by inundations, epaulements, and stockades, or by fortified villages. Villages form a very good and effectual defence on lines approaching to the redan trace, and generally are very manageable polygons of resistance. The cover is good, and round shot goes through the slight houses without injuring the defenders by splinters. The Lord-lieutenant, having summoned his staff of deputy-lieutenants, would direct them to cause the necessary works to be executed by county labourers, at the rate of a field work to cover three guns per twelve hours' labour of forty men. Plain directions should be given, with lithographed sections and working plans. In this system there is no high amount of engineering skill or of strategic arrangement required. Nothing more is asked than that which the nation has a right to expect—namely, that the local military resources of each county should be turned to the best account through the agency of the territorial military authorities of the militia service, namely, the Lord-lieutenant, assisted by the deputy-lieutenants and by the commanding officers of the county regiments. The especial ground for

employing a mobilized artillery of militia will be considered in the strategic portion. The system of special training that has been here recommended and adopted in an artillery regiment can be applied to the varying circumstances of regiments and counties.

The rifle and light infantry regiments will practise open formations: the battalion regiments will probably be trained to the defence of entrenched posts, and to serried movements.

In a word, it is only requisite to utilize the magnificent resources which the United Kingdom places at the disposal of her rulers to render invasion, so far as human foresight can provide, a vain threat—an impotent intention.

But no employment of insulated fragments of the national strength will be sufficient. The regimental system, however valuable, must be welded into the compact masses which form the available strength of an aggregated people, and it is to this series of combinations and their probable results that the argument now proceeds.

It has been shown that the original constitution of the militia service is territorial. It will be trained on its own soil, with which the commanding officer is most familiar. But to derive advantage from this incident of its character and constitution, should be added the efficiency which results from combination with other bodies of troops similarly qualified and organized for the peculiar demands of defensive war. Such enlarged action will result from the formation of militia brigades and of militia divisions. Since the introduction of the divisional system into the French service, it has been gradually adopted into the manual of European warfare. But the divisional system should be made to consist with the genius of the militia force, and be territorial also. The regiments raised in neighbouring districts would then be formed into homogeneous brigades, divisions, or even army corps. The brigade should be camped during the period of training within the brigade district, and placed under the command of a brigadier. The late Lord Hardinge, who thoroughly appreciated the value of the militia, observed that the militia infantry required only Enfield rifles, and good brigadiers, to make them capable of any undertaking. It may be observed that the yeomanry regiments and detachments of the regular army might be at the same time attached to this command. The brigade should be under canvas, in order to keep the soldier from the contaminating influence of billets, and also as a just economy to the tax-payer. 'It is better to hear the

lark sing than the mouse cheep;' and young soldiers are more quickly taught what is useful in the open field than in the most elaborately fitted barracks. Two months under canvas are better than six in hut or barrack, to teach and train the orderly and intelligent volunteer.

The militia depôt is the alarm post at which, on the first notice for service, the regiment would assemble, the brigadier having previously determined the rendezvous of the brigade. At this point the brigade would have been assembled for training during peace; thence it would be prepared to commence its movements at the stern demand of war.

By this larger application of the principle of special training already noticed, to the combined masses of several regiments, the advantages anticipated from the manœuvres of a corps on familiar ground will be augmented proportionately to the wider area over which operations are to be conducted. In illustration of the system of working by brigades, the division formed from the combined brigades of the Waveney and the Stour may be examined. It will be observed that in this quarter of England facilities for invasion are great, owing to a long seaboard, a portion of which is indented by creeks, forming natural wharfs for disembarkation of troops. If the advance be made from the coast to some central point in the East Anglian counties, it would be somewhat difficult with the small force of a single regiment to defend the ground; but if the two regiments of artillery and the five regiments of infantry be united in a prearranged plan of operations, a substantive and effective resistance would at once be offered to the enemy, and the district might be safely left to the defence furnished by its own resources. The same reasoning would hold good with respect to the militia regiments distributed throughout the country in masses convenient for combination, and having, as it were, a natural cohesion. These combinations, moreover, would accord with the rule which prescribes 'that militia, in the proportion of one-third to two-thirds of regulars, should be brigaded with them, when there would be little difference, if any, of their value in action; if composing one-half of the army, then to be mixed with one-third of regulars, the remaining strength of the regulars, with perhaps a select small number of regiments, being kept for the reserve; and if the militia be two-thirds, that then their brigading would be probably almost exclusively by themselves, and the regulars be maintained necessarily as a compact body of main reserve. The chances of success would vary with these several proportions; but with the most unfavourable in the numbers above

demanded, with the advantages that the mass of railways afford for rapid concentration at any point, the whole well regulated and organized, any British general would look with confidence to the result.'* The fluvial districts have been followed, as far as possible, in obedience to the law which associates in habits and occupations the dwellers within the same limits of the watershed and outfall of streams and rivers. In the formation of brigades the name has been taken from a principal river in the district.

In these brigade camps all the operations of war might be exemplified, according to the nature of defence proper to the locality, whether of works, of manœuvre, or of fortified posts. For the defence of England must be varied as is the surface of the soil. Every district must have an appropriate protection consistent with its natural or artificial features.

The passes of the Welsh hills and of the more abrupt ranges, such as of Lancashire and Cumberland, would be maintained by stockaded works. The long slopes of the Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire wolds would furnish that descending impulse to the rush of our infantry which decided Busaco. On the uplands of the Down counties, the charge of our horsemen would recall many brilliant passages of arms of our cavalry in foreign fields. The level plains of the marsh districts of the coast, or of Lincolnshire and Somerset, form a network of alternating land and water, impervious to invading columns. Towns and villages would oppose their deliberately-prepared resistance. For it is to be observed that, except for the defence of positions eminently objective, such as London, Woolwich, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Pembroke, permanent fortifications are undesirable, as indicating a foregone conclusion of defence. And the Providence which blesses the peaceful arts and occupations of mankind, has in its wisdom decreed that the appliances of civilization and the results of man's toil furnish, rightly understood, means of defence equivalent, if not superior, to those which the hand of nature has raised as ramparts of mountain, or spread as belts of morass, around the fastnesses of her wild children, as was well seen when the United Provinces were wrested from the Spaniard.

Let, then, the invasion establishment of England and Wales be taken at 120,000 men, divided into 89 regiments of infantry and 13 of artillery. The establishment of the infantry regiments is identical with that of the regular forces. The

* Sir John Burgoyne's *Possible Results of a War with France*, 1848, p. 44.

artillery regiments are trained on the system of the Royal Artillery; and the establishment of the non-commissioned officers and gunners answers to that of the battalions of the Royal Regiment. The commissioned officers are attached to companies, as of infantry, there being no second captains. The total strength of infantry and artillery would then be 113,250, and of artillery 6750.

On the composition and duties of the infantry it is not necessary to speak, but of the arm newly introduced into the militia service some details are expedient. Although artillery regiments were unknown to the militia service in the war of the French Revolution, there are traces of battalion guns having been attached to the militia corps, as in the instance of the Leicester Regiment in 1798. In the Channel Islands an admirably-served and well-appointed artillery has been maintained since the year 1625.

This force is composed, in Guernsey, of four field batteries of three nine-pounder guns, and one twenty-four-pounder howitzer each. In Alderney the entire corps is artillery; in Jersey there is also an artillery regiment. The expense of horses is paid by the States of the islands.

In Nova Scotia also, the artillery corps have done good service. It is observed by Sir Duncan McDougall, late 79th Regiment, when inspecting field-officer in Nova Scotia, under the governments of Sir James Kempt, and of Sir Peregrine Maitland; 'the volunteer artillery worked their guns with great precision, and moved them with an astonishing rapidity; and in Great Britain a similar force, under proper organization and instruction, should prove to be invaluable in the event of an invasion; and the artillery of the British auxiliary force in Spain, which was under the command of an energetic officer of the Royal Artillery, attained in the course of a few months a high state of discipline and efficiency, and their practice was the terror of the enemy; and this is considered to be the arm the most difficult and requiring the longest time to instruct.' *

The Canadian Militia has received a very efficient organization, and consists of—

I. The Active (or Volunteer) Force, divided into Class A, and Class B.

II. The Sedentary (or Enrolled) Force.

I. *Active Force.*

Class A. This consists of—

* *Military Defence of the United Kingdom.*

α. *Volunteer Field Batteries* and *Foot Companies of Artillery*, the former of which have 26 pieces of field-artillery, chiefly 6-pounders; the latter, one 6-pounder and one 12-pounder howitzer.

The battery guns are distributed into seven field batteries, stationed at Quebec, Ottowa, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, London.

The four companies of Foot Artillery are stationed at Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Dundas.

β. *Cavalry.*

Not yet properly organized.

γ. *Rifle Companies.*

These vary in strength from fifty men to eighty. Thirty-four are organized, and armed with the Enfield musket (pattern 1853).

The authorized strength of the Active Force (Class A) is 5000 officers and men.

N.B. The Militia Act does not allow the various troops and companies to be brigaded.

Class B. Of this the authorized strength is—

Six troops and seventeen companies.

The period of drill allowed in the year, ten days for cavalry and rifles.

II. *Sedentary Force.*

In the case of the Sedentary (Enrolled) Militia, no drill or arms are required; there is merely an annual muster. Persons, however, who are liable to serve, pay an annual tax in time of peace for exemption.

The province is divided into 428 battalions of Sedentary Militia, viz.—

179 in Lower Canada;
249 in Upper Canada.

The male population liable to military duty, equal about 150,000, exclusive of reserve men.

It is proposed to substitute a mobilized system of defence for an immovable and restricted organization, in order to cope with a highly mobilized system of attack. Napoleon said well that the cordon, or fixed battery system, was of the lowest order of defence. The rebel sepoys at Lucknow

threw up enormous defensive works; but their line of defence was turned, and the labour expended became absolutely useless: and such may be the result of any system of defence established on immovable bases.

It is, then, with a just perception of the most effectual means of checking the first burst of invasion that the adoption of artillery regiments has entered into the militia system of the United Kingdom; their duties will be, in the first place, to garrison coast forts, and to occupy the coast batteries in their districts. But if the principle of resistance to invasion which has been already laid down be correct, then their usefulness might, and should be, extended still further. They should be trained to the use and management of field guns, to understand their value in position, how to cover them, and thus to derive the greatest advantage from the accidents of ground.

It is not to be expected that, generally speaking, an artillery corps of militia should manœuvre with guns with the precision of the Royal Artillery, from lack of practice; but the commanding officer can in a short time give so much instruction as may enable his gun detachments to do their duty thoroughly on simple lines of advance and retreat. The results to be obtained from this development of the artillery service, will be more clearly understood on consulting the hypothetical plan of campaign delivered by the writer before the council and members of the United Service Institution, and to be published in their journal.*

And as it is of importance towards obtaining efficient officers, especially for the artillery service, that the employment should be considered permanent, although it be not continuous, the writer recommends that the maintenance of the coast works and batteries in a serviceable condition should be effected by the artillery regiments of the district. These always produce workmen fitted for that particular description of labour, who should be employed under direction of officers of the Royal Engineers, to be paid as military artificers, in addition to the daily pay received by them as gunners. A corps marching with tents and engineer train, would furnish the most available works-corps that the military arrangements of this country will permit, while the men themselves would be in training for useful and improving labour. And this system has been carried out by the Isle of Wight Militia Artillery, under the command of Captain Percy Scott.

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* 'The Militia and its Defensive Uses in the Event of Invasion;' a lecture delivered at the United Service Institution by Colonel Adair, Suffolk Artillery, A.D.C. to the Queen.

It is of course difficult, and may even appear impracticable, to estimate the mass of invading force which may be detached against the British Empire; but it may safely be assumed that so great an enterprise will not be undertaken without due thought; at a period of extensive pertubation in Europe, and on a scale proportionate to the magnitude of the perils and the splendour of the prize. The hypothetical invasion projected by Baron Maurice appears to be too inconsiderable in its dimensions, and would probably form but a portion of a mightier scheme whose proportions may be not unreasonably forecast.

Elsewhere the reasons are detailed which lead statesmen reluctantly to believe such evil policy not impossible. But the fact being assumed, the risk is estimated at twice the greatest value hitherto indicated, and it is shown that, without trenching unduly on the money treasure, or on the labour market of the country in ordinary times; without displacing the blessed customs of peace by the stern necessities and habits of war; through timely and continuous preparation, the projects of a wild and criminal ambition can be safely defied.

It would be to some extent inconsistent with the design of this paper to enter into tactical details on the subject of invasion, treated hypothetically indeed, but on the basis originally supplied by the calculations of Baron Maurice. The aggregate of forces estimated by Baron Maurice is, of infantry, 110,000; cavalry, 22,000; artillery, 13,750; engineers, 3000; Waggon Train, 2970 = 151,800 combatants distributed into the armies of Bristol, Rye, and Plymouth. It is no unreasonable conjecture that to these army corps might be added, for the purpose of manœuvre, of observation, and of occupation, additional masses of expeditionary corps directed on Chester, Lancaster, Durham, the Humber, and the East Anglian coasts, swelling the muster-roll to, infantry, 174,000; cavalry, 30,000; artillery and engineers, 26,350; and Waggon Train, 7433; making a total of 237,783 combatants. A disposition of the national forces is detailed in the lecture already referred to, by text and map, which shows masses first in position;—and then in line of battle;—of 120,000 militia, infantry, and artillery, of England; 40,000 pensioners; 7000 regular cavalry; 18,000 yeomanry cavalry; 10,000 Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers; and 25,000 infantry of the line. No assistance is drawn from the Irish Militia, and of the Scottish Militia 5000 are detached from the service of that country as a corps of observation on the Border. All reference to the services of volunteers and irregulars is excluded. The

invading forces are weighed, man for man, horse for horse, gun for gun, against the national forces; and England need, humanly speaking, have no doubt of the results, if the contest were waged unaided by a single man of her millions of volunteers. Now, it is not sufficient that England should know and be convinced of this power of consolidating her forces, but it is well that Europe also should learn, and be convinced. It is idle to assert that invasion cannot take place, and yet to act as if it were imminent; but, as regards land forces with only half energy, 'letting I durst not wait upon I would.' The choice of action is triple: To make the militia army effective, by steady labour, and at slight cost; to increase largely the standing army; or to trust to the fortune of the country, and lie under a continual apprehension of a calamity which there would be neither sufficient public vigour to affront, nor public philosophy to disregard, and which is yet the talk of the market-place, and the theme of politicians.

Such is a transcript of the antecedent history of the British Militia—its present uses, and its future. Revived after a long period of abeyance, it has resumed its original place of honour in the estimation of the country. Whatever faults may necessarily attach to its organization, uniform regularity of service, attention to discipline, steadiness and conduct have placed this army of volunteer soldiers on a level with trained warriors. The records of many regiments show that in the shock of steel the militia soldier gives his life freely. Against 'malice domestic, foreign levy,' his march is assured, firm, and triumphant. Yet two grave questions remain to be answered, Can so large a body of ablebodied men be partially trained to the use of arms without danger to the State? And can the mass be withdrawn from the labour-market without disturbance to its operations? The first question has ceased to have the significance it once possessed. In times of intense political agitation in the manufacturing districts, the late Sir Charles Napier, by his skilful and bold management, convinced the popular leaders of the absurdity and peril of an armed insurrection, but the spirit of obedience to the law was at the root of their submission.

And, again, the true spirit of obedience to constitutional law and order, so appropriate to Englishmen, was never more strikingly exemplified than in the demeanour of the army of the Protector, at the Restoration. Thus speaks the historian: 'The respect which Cromwell's troops paid to property, their attachment to the laws and religion of their country, their submission to the civil power, their temperance, their intelligence, their industry, are without parallel. It was after the

Restoration that the spirit which their great leader had infused into them was most signally displayed. At the command of the established government—an established government which had no means of enforcing obedience—50,000 soldiers, whose backs no enemy had ever seen, either in domestic or in Continental war, laid down their arms and retired into the mass of the people, thenceforward to be distinguished only by superior diligence, sobriety, and regularity in the pursuits of peace, from the other members of the community which they had saved.' And of the men who formed and led such soldiers: 'They, who out of the most unpromising materials formed the finest army that Europe had ever seen, who trampled down king, church, and aristocracy, who in the short intervals of domestic sedition and rebellion made the name of England terrible to every nation on the face of the earth, were no vulgar fanatics.' And of that gallant body who withstood the Parliamentary forces he says: 'We feel a national pride in comparing them with the instruments which the despots of other countries are compelled to employ, with the mutes who throng their antechambers, and the janissaries who mount guard at their gates. The sentiment of individual independence was strong within them. It was not for a treacherous king, or an intolerant church, that they fought, but for the old banners which had waved in so many battles over the heads of their fathers, and for the altars at which they had received the hands of their brides.'

Such was the composition of the old English levies, officers and men, and such is their composition at this day. Now, as of old, the English people give loyal obedience for loyal guidance. The docility and steadiness of the militia soldier, when he is commanded as he deserves to be, are striking and satisfactory. It is a pleasant duty to form a militia regiment, especially to artillery service. The young country lad gradually assumes the erect gait that belongs to self-respect, for now he knows that he is under the guidance of a discipline which does not humiliate. The stolid countenance brightens as the practice of arms becomes familiar to him; and it is strange indeed if he be not returned to his parish an improved and more useful man. It would surprise many to observe with what rapidity the artillery recruit masters the seven distinct duties of heavy ordnance; the nine separate duties of field-gun service; gyn drill, for mounting and dismounting of heavy guns; and, the ordinary infantry drill; how cheerful he is under canvas; how thoroughly soldier-like and orderly he becomes. But the ascendency acquired over him must be that of continuous attention from his officers; and the militia regiments being

composed almost exclusively of recruits, there are few bad habits to unlearn. As regards the withdrawal of labour from general employment, that difficulty may be neutralized by arrangements according with the wants of the different counties. As the class of volunteers is seldom that of yearly servants, it may be assumed that the embodiment of the corps for even two months in each year would, if taken between or after the hay, corn, or fishery harvests, be a relief to employers and to ratepayers. Nor, as has been shown, need the cost to the country be large. Thus the taxpayer and the employer of labour will alike be relieved from the apprehension of excessive and needless expenditure, or of wages artificially raised.

It is especially desirable to determine the position that the militia service shall hold in the military system of the country. Until that point be decided, the full advantages of this ancient and constitutional institution cannot be reaped; above all, officers and non-commissioned officers of adequate skill cannot be retained in the service. Nor can the permanent staff develope their usefulness, unless employed during the intervals of training. And this willing, instructed, and meritorious body of non-commissioned officers might contribute powerfully to the success of a well-graduated system of military service. The militia Army of Reserve might receive the recruit for his first period of military training, transfer him a formed soldier to the regular service,—and receive him incorporated into pensioner battalions a veteran, though not exhausted, soldier, on his return from active service. A system might be easily devised which should give the population that general military training which the times show to be essential, and thus the defensive power of this country be constitutionally developed. And in maturing a plan to this end, the royal commission for the organization of the militia service is responsible for fulfilling the large expectation of the public, which has remarked its appointment with much interest and approval.

But let it first be granted that a genuine desire to serve the country has the largest share in bringing into the militia service the best blood and intellect of the local families of the counties. It is not to wear an uniform, or for the magnificent privilege of directing masses of their countrymen, that a race of educated men, especially given to domestic pursuits and country employment, volunteer for distant quarters, for the colonies and fortresses of Britain's strength throughout the world. It will be said that the commanding officer is repaid by distinction. True; but the captains? the junior officers?

Little things try men's constancy. An ill-defined or un-

certain position may indispose to the militia service. It is not well to disincline this class of men—the very representatives of the knights who rode in the wars of Guienne and of Gascony—to the militia service, when a permanent and honoured position in the military system of the Empire would retain them in its ranks more firmly than any other inducement. Let it not be supposed that their places are soon filled up. Commanding officers well know that it is not easy to replace an original body of officers as they pass off from the regiment into the regular service; and so it must be in a country where every class has an assigned position and distinct duties. The duty of the permanent home defence of the United Kingdom rests on the militia Army of Reserve.

In the first place, then, form a separate department of home defence, to be exclusively devolved upon the militia service, with a council of militia officers to assist the Secretary at War. Let the Lord-lieutenant, the constitutional military chief of each county, be responsible that the preparations of defence are complete in his district. In fact, realize the constitutional idea which makes him, with the aid of the deputy lieutenants, chief of the militia forces of the county. For instance, let it be the duty of the Lord-lieutenant to maintain the magazines, on which the produce of the country is directed, in a suitable state. Each county should be prepared for defence to the extent of plans at least. Now, as the primary conditions of invasion cannot alter, each maritime county is in effect on the frontier line from which the enemy will make a direct advance; and on this principle the points on which battles of position are to be fought should be clearly marked, since the line of operation must be invariable in the landward as in the maritime counties. Establish, then, a permanent system of defence, with which the militia, yeomanry, and volunteer corps, as well as the pensioner battalions, shall be connected. The presence of the regular troops may be, on the first movement of invasion, considered almost an accident; and their function would be of manœuvre, as a reserve, to consummate the defeat prepared by the resistance of the militia. Let the eighteen-pounder batteries of position now in course of distribution through the southern and eastern districts, be placed in charge of the militia artillery regiments. There are also hundreds of guns lying in Woolwich Arsenal which might be bored up to a uniform calibre, and distributed throughout the country at the points selected for magazines. No expense would be required but lacquer, for a garrison or travelling carriage can be cheaply and rapidly made for the special purpose; and it is scarcely necessary to tell the

generation that remembers the congestion of supplies in Balaclava harbour, that *matériel* without organization and distribution is useless. Associate the yeomanry troopers with the artillery as mounted gunners, and in rocket brigades; give all an interest in exertion, and do not repress zeal.

But it is not in organization, drill, and discipline alone that the militia regiments have proved their aptitude for service. The 1st Warwickshire assists in repressing the mutiny at the Nore. This regiment volunteers the first for Ireland, and marches against the French. At the Nore also the East York proved their steadiness; as did the West Essex in the disturbed districts of the Midland Counties, in 1812. The Northumberland Light Infantry did good service in the riots of 1780; and in token thereof claims to march through the city with drums beating and colours flying. If invasion is consummated, the Irish regiments of militia do gallant service, as at Ballynamuck, when the Armagh Light Company captured, at the head of the brigade composed of the Light Companies of the Monaghan, Tipperary, Kerry, and Dublin City Regiments, the standards of the 70th French Regiment, years before the fight of Maida had renewed the glory of Minden. And shortly afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Cope, with 100 of this Armagh Regiment, at Gorey, effected a judicious retreat in the presence of a rebel force 8000 strong. Then, again, at the pass of Colooney, where Colonel Vereker with the City of Limerick Regiment defeated a force of French and rebels four times greater than his own, the French general experienced the steady skill of the commander, and the vigour of a national regiment combating on their own soil.* The Cavan Regiment was present at the barricades of Arklow and on the slopes of Vinegar Hill, when 'rebellion had bad luck.' At Bantry the South Cork were present, and engaged on several occasions with the rebel forces; and but yesterday Dorsetshire was indebted to the discipline of the Wexford Regiment for preservation from the fury of revolted convicts. And not less ready were the regiments to undertake the duties of active service in France. The Leicester, Denbigh, the Buckingham and Derby Regiments, with the 2nd Royal Middlesex Rifles, with detachments of the Suffolk, Sussex, and Wiltshire Regiments, occupied ground illustrated by the deeds of the Black Prince. How largely militia soldiers contributed to

* At the rout of Castlebar the Armagh, part of the Kerry militia, the Reay, the Northampton, and Prince of Wales' Fencible Regiments were present; also the First Fencible Light Dragoons, and the Roxburgh Dragoons.

the glory of Waterloo the reader need scarcely be reminded. The 3rd Guards and 42nd Highlanders had nearly 800 militia men in their ranks. 'The Guardsmen fought in their Surrey militia jackets,' says Cotton.* The Rutland Regiment and the Royal Ayrshire volunteered for Spain, during the French war. Nor were the zeal and soldierly spirit of the British militia less evident during the Russian war. The 6th Lancashire volunteered for the Crimea and for Colonial service; the Leicester and 2nd Somerset Regiments volunteered for general service; the Dumfriesshire and Royal Surrey Regiments volunteered for Colonial and general service; the South Cork volunteered for foreign service; the Glamorganshire Regiment volunteered for India and general service; and, doubtless, no less memorable deeds have been enacted, no less zeal manifested by other regiments of which a record has not been preserved.†

The Dorset Regiment claims to be the senior regiment, but there are many of a century's service. The 1st Royal Cheshire was raised in 1757; the South Gloucester in 1755; the Shropshire in 1762; the East York in 1764; the 1st Lincolnshire during the Seven Years' War; the Northumberland Light Infantry in 1760.

This may be truly said—in quarters, in camp, in home or foreign garrison, under whatever circumstance of surprise or of opposing force, the militia army of the United Kingdom has gallantly and effectually discharged the first duty of defending their country; nor would they shrink from emulating with the regular forces in carrying their victorious standards, if need be, to the enemy's coasts.

And passing from the shores of the narrow seas, is it necessary to recall the good service done by the regiments of the Channel Islands, the outposts of England! These regiments exemplify in a remarkable degree the possible union of the soldierly and the domestic, as distinguished from the merely civil character—Romans of the Republic! History has signalized their services; and the attitude of courageous watchfulness which distinguished the regiments of Jersey in 1779 and 1781, who repelled the French inroad, is maintained by their descendants, and by the regiments of Guernsey and Alderney.

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* *Voice from Waterloo*, p. 7.

† The regiments authorized to bear 'Mediterranean' on their colours are:—

Royal Berks.	Northampton.
East Kent.	Oxford.
1st Lancashire, Royal.	1st Stafford.
3rd Lancashire, Royal.	1st Wiltshire, Royal.
3rd Middlesex, Royal.	2nd West York.

It only remains now to inquire whether any examples of campaigns or special actions can be remarked in confirmation of the principles laid down. A militia campaign, in the strict sense of that term, must be of rare occurrence, from the peculiar nature of its incidents and scope. In the first place, it must be a struggle fought out with national regimented troops, not by partisan corps; generally massed, or retiring in masses of concentration; and, moreover, the idea of prolonged re-resistance must dominate that of manœuvre. The Russian campaign of 1812, and the French campaign of 1813-14, show the characteristics of the second part of this definition, while the Peninsular war, as respects the Spaniards and the campaign of the Tyrol under Hofer, are excluded by the first.*

In the campaign of 1812, the battle of Borodino was emphatically a battle of resistance in position, and maintained to a great extent by young troops. It is probable that to the Russians would have remained the solid reward of the day, as well as the honour of the steady resistance, but that a neglected hollow enabled Caulaincourt to bring up the cuirassiers who stormed the great redoubt without exposure to the musketry fire of the work.

The succeeding campaign of 1813 gives two striking examples of battles adapted to the tactics of resistance without manœuvre, at Lutzen and at Bautzen, and of the successful maintenance of a populous town against storm in Dresden, previously fortified by strong redoubts. Lutzen was the defence of a group of villages against repeated assaults, and fought out mainly by conscripts and Landwehr. The long struggle of Bautzen proved that a powerful artillery placed on a line of hillocks may check an advance, and then be withdrawn with absolute impunity.

In 1814 the last square formed, principally by National Guards, at La Fère Champénoise, was with difficulty broken by a charge of Russian cavalry headed by the Czar. The platform of Craon, and the defence of Soissons, are both military incidents of valuable suggestion in considering militia battles.

Many other instances might be cited, as of the campaign of the Argonne,† to show that the strategy of defensive war has its brilliant examples, as well as the great campaigns where

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* And although the successes of the troops of Congress against the British arms have not been classified as militia battles, as they were largely assisted by partisan corps, yet no soldier will ever record without honour the masterly retreat of Washington from Long Island, and his movements at Trenton and Princeton.

† *Life of Dumouriez.* Lond. 1796, 8vo. Vol. iii. b. v. chaps. 5—8.

suddenness of exploit has illustrated the success of mighty schemes of aggression.

Truly memorable is this campaign of the Argonne—a memorable incitement to those who never despair of the commonwealth. From Alsace to Dunkirk France is invaded. The King of Prussia is in full march on Verdun. The trusted Lafayette has deserted with his staff. It is the 21st of August. Longwy had fallen. A council of war is summoned, and bold advice given. Dumouriez points to the Forest of Argonne as the Thermopylæ of France, though the length be but thirteen leagues; the breadth varying from half a league to four leagues. It separates rich districts from the hungry and cold regions of Champagne-la-Pouilleuse; and is passable only by five roads. The forest is occupied, and the passes guarded. Verdun surrenders on the 2nd of September. The Prussians attack the French outposts on the 8th, and are repulsed. One hundred thousand men lie in front of the French position. It was no more doubted at Paris, than in the Prussian camp that General Dumouriez would be beaten and taken prisoner; that the King of Prussia would cross the Marne; and that nothing could prevent his march to the capital. But the 13th of September brought with it a rainy season. The general effects a masterly retreat on the line of the Aisne, and occupies the Camp of St. Menehould. Then followed the battle of Valmy; and France was saved.

Two questions will probably be asked relevant to these suggestions: First, to what avail to prepare a plan of campaign?—especially within a country which apparently does not afford space for the manœuvres of large armies? To the first we reply thus: In a country where the conditions of invasion, owing to conformation in its principal features, are of an invariable type, a plan may be with advantage projected. It was well known to the writer, in 1837, that Marshal Radetzky had prepared plans of defence based probably on the Subalpine campaign of Napoleon, in anticipation of attack from the westward. The invasion came, not from the right, but from the left bank of the Var; and the foresight of the veteran was rewarded by the retreat of Charles Albert, the brave and ill-starred, from Milan. To the second,—the battles of the campaign of 1813 were decided within a space no longer than that included by a line drawn through Portpatrick, Sunderland, the Isle of Wight, and Launceston; there fought 800,000 combatants. The campaign of 1814 saw all the great battles contested by 450,000 men in a square no larger than that contained within Chester, Horncastle, Croydon, and Bristol.

And thus the reader has been led through the history of the

England of past times down to that present crisis which has supplied the argument for these remarks. It has been a pregnant rebuke to the policy of man to see that, when the hopes of peace and civil progress seemed in fullest blossom, the chill breath of war should have nipped all their goodly promises, that the horizon should have been overclouded, and men's hearts made heavy with distrust. War, always a plague, usually waged without due motive, is now a greater sin against European society, in so far as an estimate is justly derivable from results, than of old. It was in the old state of European society in some sort a normal condition, waged of later years without animosity, and not productive of individual rancour. Formerly it was undertaken to solve dynastic quarrels, now the struggle would be to gratify national enmity. Of old the vanquished endured merely a tactical defeat, now they would brood over national and personal humiliation.

Let it be repeated, there is abroad a general feeling of uneasiness, which any accident may impel to acts of panic terror and injustice. Better far to deal with this epidemic by rules of art, than permit the disease to become inveterate. The first process of healing is to let Europe clearly understand the mind of England.

Now the maintenance by armed force of that which is reasonable in conception and just in application, demands in statesmanship that art which is, in private life, the fitting adaptation of means to an end. A joint use of the two great motive powers, Right and Might, is essential to the well-ordering of society, though this rule is ordinarily lost sight of in periods of change, and for a space, after any great organic change has been consummated. Revolution breeds 'doctrinaires.' The world can be governed neither by reason unaided, nor by force alone; for it is true now, as it was declared to be two hundred years since, that 'we must forge arms for the defence of beleaguered truth.'

It is one form of error to suppose that men always appreciate their just and true interests, as it is another to conclude that their interests being known, will invariably be followed. Thus, to speak of free trade, the 'repagulum' of the social arch, people are governed largely by their instincts. The free states instinctively know that by free trade their power is extended, consolidated, and perpetuated. Are there not some nations to whom this knowledge has never travelled? Nay, are there not some who have rejected the happy tidings? Have not even nations, as well as their rulers, aforetime sinned against knowledge? Seek peace as we may with

national self-denial, with much labour, and many sacrifices, it will avail nothing unless the power be clear to defend and maintain that which we elect to concede. There is indeed grave reason for dwelling on this topic.

We do not assume to dictate a policy, but we determine that our own action shall be free; and while we regard with sympathy, but without pretension to interfere, the struggles through which other countries are now passing, we should be false to all our obligations to the world and to ourselves, did we not secure the progression of our peaceful interests. Therefore it is wise to see that our attitude may not be mistaken, lest such misunderstanding may necessitate a warlike illustration of our intent.

Interrupted as has been the course of peace, we had still hoped to have seen discarded faith welcomed home again. But through failure and through disappointment the duty of the statesman is not the less clear. If physical force is again, as in darker ages, to be the handmaiden of progress, we accept the task in the ancient English spirit, and we await it—Armed.

It would, indeed, be pharisaical to measure the sum of England's merits by the success that has waited on her national career. Far be from us the claim to interpret the purposes of the All-Seeing. The rain falls on the just and on the unjust. But, if England, having shown mercy, has received mercy, if, having given largely of her treasure, and having poured forth her blood wherever the precious seed of freedom was sown, she has received the reaper's reward, though not toiling for the reaper's hire, is it not, then, especially incumbent on her rulers to preserve unabated her power of justifying right before the world? She, at least, must remain the asylum of free thought—the abode of free men. England is bound to enforce by precept and example that abstinence from projects of conquest which is to nations what self-respect is to man! It is not permitted to her to justify tyrannies by the example of harsh rule, nor conquerors by aggressive wars. It is hers in all things to show how new and old may unite in fitting order.

Thus, then, the work undertaken approaches its close. If the attention has been too long detained in historical details, it is because the England of to-day is, in all essentials, the England of old.

Some may judge that the expression of a policy dictated by caution approximates too nearly to a defiance. Yet the object has been to show with singleness of purpose, as with clear-

ness, the scarcely appreciated consequences that result to England from the uneasiness engendered in the public mind of Europe.

On England rests the responsibility of averting special war, and of allaying general excitement; of reproducing general confidence. The danger of these times is in permitting political action to be justified on false, or insufficient pretences. The object of the statesman is to abate the tendency to appeal to material force. No power anticipates invasion from England. In the unfettered hand of England is grasped a guarantee for the future of Europe. England, secure from invasion, guarantees the independence of the world!

Lastly, let me say one word to that body of the workers and pioneers of free thought, under whose auspices these pages have been put forth.

None will judge that he who aspires to a favourable, or even a patient, hearing from you can assure it by appeals to the old unreasoning form of repelling political outrage which degenerates into an insolent insensibility to all equal law, and civil accomplishments.

The arts which will derive their practical rules from your prophetic science, or which are embellished by your critical research, are such as make peace lovely, and a peaceful life dignified.

The study of such arts animated the accomplished scholar who, in his humane sympathies, felt not the death-thirst of Zutphen, and has since ennobled the life of many a Christian soldier, in whose daily warfaring, pen and sword were not divorced, nor prayer omitted—from Sidney to Havelock. A glorious muster-roll!

Such thoughts dwelt in the breast of that memorable man of peace who bade cultivate the arts of warlike defence in the education of youth, that so 'the body might render clear and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies, to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the enforce ment of a slavish life.' Were I not conscious that no argument has been used but as it appeared designed and fitted to promote human freedom, I should hesitate indeed. But since, as it seems to me, it becomes us now to speak with that plainness of those old days which was the forerunner of plain action, I have not shrunk from delivering my mind on these matters. And to you, amongst the foremost of the instructors of the races speaking the English tongue and thinking English

thoughts, is committed the work of making clear and indisputable the law that right must be maintained at all hazards, and that wrong must at all sacrifice be withstood.

And to our rulers let this plain remonstrance from a living poet be addressed:—

> O statesmen, guard us, guard the eye, the soul
> Of Europe. Keep our noble England whole,
> And save the one true seed of freedom sown
> Betwixt a people and their ancient throne;
> That sober freedom out of which there springs
> Our loyal passion for our temperate kings;
> For, saving that, ye help to save mankind,
> Till public wrong be crumbled into dust,
> And drill the raw world for the march of mind,
> Till crowds at length be sane, and crowns be just;
> But wink no more in slothful overtrust! *

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* 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington.'

R. A. S. A.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY was born eight years after Lord Sackville, two years after Raleigh, one after Spenser, seven before Bacon, and ten before Shakespeare, on the 29th of September, 1554, at Penshurst, on the river Medway, the seat of the Sidneys. He was christened Philip, after his godfather, Philip of Spain, the husband of Mary, who had arrived in England in the previous July, and had interested himself to save many of the Dudleys from the scaffold—nearly all of whom were implicated in the tragic adventures of Lady Jane Grey. Sidney's mother was a daughter of Northumberland. All the family of the Sidneys were in mourning when England's best hero was born. The oak which was planted at Sidney's birth still stands in the park of Penshurst: it is called the 'Bear's Oak,' and the seams and scars on its huge bole and gnarled arms show evidence of its long combat with the storms of three hundred winters. Both Ben Jonson and Waller have put it into verse :—

> That taller tree that of a nut was set
> At his great birth where all the Muses met.*
>
> Go, boy, and carve this passion on the bark
> Of yonder tree, which stands the sacred mark
> Of noble Sidney's birth.†

Of his family, Sidney, in a well-known reply to a virulent attack on Leicester, wrote as follows :—

I am a Dudlei in blood, that duke's (Northumberland's) daughter's son; and do acknowledge, though in all truth I may justly affirm that I am by my father's syde of ancient and alwaies well-esteemed and wel-matched gentry; yet I do acknowledge, I sai, that my chiefest honor is to be a Dudlei; and truli I am glad to have caws to set forth the nobility of that blood whereof I am descended, which but upon so just a cause without vain glori could not have been uttered.

* Ben Jonson's *Forest.*

† Waller, *at Penshurst.*

By his mother, Lady Mary Dudley, daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, he could count among his ancestors the Lisles, who led their men-at-arms and archers into the thick at Cressy; Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Regent of France; the great Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; the Greys, created Lords L'Isle, the heirs of the former L'Isles and the Berkeleys. By intermarriage with the Brandons, the Sidneys claimed from the Conqueror. They themselves came from Anjou with Henry II., and received the grant of a manor, to be held by service of a knight's fee. Sir William Sidney, Philip's grandfather, figured prominently in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and was a favourite with Henry VIII. At the death of that monarch he was left tutor and Chamberlain of the Household to Edward VI. Sir Henry Sidney, his son, was consequently brought up with Edward VI.

Amid this large array of noble ancestry, death by the axe and the sword was an hereditary complaint: few died in their beds; which indeed was an unnatural end in those days of good knights and turbulent citizens. One of the Lisles was hung, drawn, and quartered by Edward II. at Pontefract: another was knocked on the head by Lord Berkeley in a quarrel about lands.* No reader of Shakespeare is ignorant how the great Talbot and his son died. Edmund Dudley, Sidney's great-grandfather, had the talent, says Bacon, a very useful one, of putting hateful deeds into good words, and was of the unfortunate partnership of Empson and Dudley; and when John Dudley, his son, the Duke of Northumberland, brought Lady Jane Grey to the scaffold, two Dudleys were beheaded, and the others had some difficulty in keeping their heads on their shoulders. For the rest, the most of them died in a pious frame of mind. Few but left their souls by will to Almighty God, to our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the saints in heaven, and proper legacies to Mother Church; either an endowment for a devout priest to sing for their souls, or a pair of vestments, or a gilt cross or chalice;† and these gifts—dying, as they did, seised of innumerable manors, lordships, and lands, granted to them by the kings of England, as attainders from time to time fell in—they could very well afford to make.

Sir Henry Sidney, the father of Philip, was a very re-

* This quarrel caused the longest Chancery suit on record; it lasted for seven generations, from 3 Hen. V. 1415, to 2 James I. 1604 (189 years); and was then settled by a compromise between Lord Berkeley and Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Philip's brother. The Chancery Bar should raise a monument to the founders of this suit.

† Frances, daughter of Sir William Sidney, married Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex, and was the foundress of Sidney-Sussex Hall, Cambridge.

markable man, and well deserves a place in our veneration amidst those severe, resolute, and dexterous statesmen who were the servants of Elizabeth. A favoured companion, and often bedfellow, we are told, of Edward VI. in his boyhood, when he came to man's estate he was made one of the four gentlemen of the bedchamber; and, Holinshed tells us, his wit, gallant bearing, and manly aspect distinguished him as much as the affection of the young king, who died in his arms at Greenwich. He was an ambassador, like his son Philip, at twenty-one. He escaped the disgrace of the Dudleys, and became Lord Deputy in Wales, and afterwards in Ireland. The government of the latter country was then no sinecure, and was conferred by the actual livery of a sword into the hands of the Deputy. Soon after Sir Henry's arrival in Ireland, the noble Walter, Earl of Essex, who for years had devoted his life, energy, and fortune to the pacification of Ulster, died of a broken heart. Sir Henry Sidney found Ireland in a state of desolation: the intrigues of the Spaniards and Jesuits excited everywhere disorder; the feuds of Ormond and Desmond devastating the whole country. The English Pale itself overrun by the 'gentlemen' of the O'Neals, O'Reillies, and O'Molloys, and their gallowglasses, kerns, and 'loose rascals.' Villages and towns in ruins; churches sacked or burnt. Sometimes in his progresses he came upon towns reduced to three or four inhabitants, and those wanting to give up the keys and be off. On many occasions he describes in his reports scenes of horror and massacre such as we might expect on the border lands of the Hurons or Iroquois. The charred and smoking remnants of villages drenched with blood, and strewn with corpses—children seen to stir in the bodies of their murdered mothers. But Sir Henry Sidney was a wise, bold, and indefatigable governor. He killed James MacConnell, a Scottish ally of the rebels, with his own hand. Shane O'Neal's head he stuck upon the tower of Dublin Castle. He made everywhere bridges, castles, and roads; re-fortified decayed towns; performed long and painful journeys continually throughout the whole country; he had the map of the whole island, with its creeks, promontories, mountains, in his head; did his utmost to secure to every man his own, and strike terror among the savage hordes ever hovering over the farmer's crops and cattle; he tried to civilize the natives, high and low. He often, says Collins, invited gentlemen of the ancient Irish, and reclaimed them to civility, comeliness in habit, and cleanliness in diet. In his travels through the country he was often in danger; but his blithe and manly courage always raised the spirits of his followers with a cheer-

ing address of 'Good friends,' and 'Loving companions.' He was a good speaker and writer, well read, cheerful, affable, kind, and beloved. Strong in soul and body, he could wear out his attendants in travel, sleeping six hours a day. Truthful in word and deed, this phrase stamps the man, 'My word is my worst, and so they shall find it.' The people were attached to his government, and his memory was grateful after him. He always sought and fostered science and learning, and spent his youth, life, health, and much of his patrimony in the service of his country.

He was made a Knight of the Garter, and died at Ludlow a few months before his beloved Philip, on the 5th of May, 1586, aged 57. The queen ordered Garter King-at-arms to arrange the funeral. His body was laid out in state in Worcester Cathedral; and then, on a car covered with black velvet and escutcheons, preceded by heralds, he was brought to Penshurst and there interred by a goodly train of lords, knights, gentlemen, and ladies.

Some letters are extant to his sons, which show what a depth of paternal and playful affection existed in this wise and good statesman and soldier.

To his son Robert while at the University of Strasburg:—

Our Lord bless you, my sweet boy,—Perge, Perge! my sweet Robin, in the filial fear of God, and in the loving direction of your most loving brother.

I find by Harry White [an attendant taking charge of Robert] that all your money is gone, which with some wonder displeaseth me; and if you cannot frame your charges according to that proportion I have appointed you, I must and will send for you home. [He sends, however, an order for 100*l.*, which, he says, is 20*l.* more than I promised you]; and thus I look and order that it shall serve you till the last of March, 1580. Assure yourself I will not enlarge one groat thereof, therefore look well to your charges. Pray daily; speak no thing but truly; do no dishonest thing for any respect. Love Mr. Languet with reverence, unto whom in most hearty manner commend me; and to Doctor Lubetyus and Mr. Doctor Sturmius.

If you will follow my counsel you shall be my sweet boy.

Your loving father,
HENRY SYDNEY.

After some advice to Robert in another letter, he says—

But why do I blunder at these things? Follow the direction of your most loving brother, who in loving you is comparable with me, or exceedeth me. Imitate his virtues, studies, and actions; he is a rare ornament of this age, the very formular that all well-disposed young of our court do form also their manner and life by. In truth, I speak it without flattery of him or of myself, he hath the most rare virtues that ever I found in any man.

What pleasant humour there is in this passage about Robert's present of some 'martern skinnys;' and 'it is more than ever your elder brother sent me!'

I thank you, my dear boy, for the martern skins, it is more than ever your elder brother sent me; and I will thank you more *if they come*, for yet I hear not of them: but if your tokens come, I will send you such a suit of apparell as shall become your father's son to wear in any court in Germany. I have no more, but God bless you, my sweet child, in this world and for ever, as I in this world find myself happy in my children.

The present, however, of the 'martern skinnys' does not prevent his giving Robin a hint to look again to his charges:—

I send you now by Stephen, 30*l.*, which you call arrearages: term it as you will, 'tis all I owe you till Easter; and 20*l.* of that Griffin Madox [his servant] telleth me is Harry White's.

Sidney's mother, Lady Mary Sidney, was likewise a pious, delicate, and highly sensitive nature, sincerely attached to her husband, whom she survived but a few months. Holinshed speaks of her great piety and charity, her love of retirement, and her exemplary end.

Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother, the beloved and accomplished Mary Countess of Pembroke, who was about four years older than Sidney, has been celebrated by many poets. Spenser thus qualifies her:—

> Urania, sister unto Astrofell,
> In whose brave mind, as in a golden coffer,
> All heavenly gifts and riches lockèd are,
> More rich than pearls of Ind or gold of Ophur.*

There could be no better education for the early boyhood of Sidney than to be brought up amid the members of such a family. At the age of twelve, when Sir Henry was Lord President of Wales and resided at Ludlow, he was sent to Shrewsbury; and was already a sufficient scholar in French and Latin to address two letters in these languages to his father: and in answer to them Sir Henry wrote an admirable letter, of which we give a portion:—

Let your first action be the lifting up of your mynd to Almighty God by harty prayer. [He then gives some advice about diet and exercise.] *Give yourself to be merry*, for you degenerate from your father if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to do

* There is a portrait of this lady at Penshurst by Mark Gerard, which goes far to explain the very great admiration of which she was the object. For sweetness, innocence, and intellectuality of expression, it is perhaps unsurpassed. In her preface to her translation of Mornay's *Discourse*, there is to be found one of the finest passages of prose in the language, far better than any of her verses.

any thing when you be most merry. But let your mind be void of all scurrillitye and biting words to any man, for a wound given by a word is oftentimes harder to be cured than that given with the sword.* Be you rather a hearer or carrier away of other men's talk than a beginner or procurer of speech, otherwise you shall be accounted to delight to hear yourself speak. If you hear a wise sentence or apt phrase, commit it to the memorie, with respect of the circumstance when you shall speak it. Let never oath be heard to come out of your mouth, nor word of ribaldry: detest it in another. Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuked of light fellows for maiden-like shamefacedness, than of your sad friends for pert boldness. Think upon the word you shall speak before you utter it. Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by your mother's side, and think that only by virtuous life and good actions you may be an ornament to that illustrious family, and that otherwise by vice and sloth you may be counted *Labes generis*, one of the greatest curses that can happen to a man. Well, my little Philip, this is enough for me, and too much, I fear, for you; but if I shall find this light meal of digestion nourish anything the weak stomach of your young capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with tougher food.

Your loving father so long as you live in the feare of God,
H. SYDNEY.

Fulke Greville, Lord Broke, — the inscription on whose tomb was 'servant to Queen Elizabeth, counsellor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney,'—was entered at Shrewsbury School on the same day as Sidney; and many a Salopian has recalled with pleasure the fact that these illustrious men preceded him on the benches in the Upper School. There exists a letter of Leicester's, written to a bishop, asking for a dispensation for Sidney, at this period, to eat meat during Lent. Leicester seems to have been much attached to the Sidney family.

From very infancy Sidney appears to have excited immense expectation in all about him. Lord Broke writes—

Of whose youth I will repeat no other wonder than that, though I lived with him and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man, with such staidness of mind, lovely and familiar gravity, as earned grace and reverence above greater years; his talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind, so as even his very teachers found something in him to observe and learn above that which they had usually read or taught, which eminence by nature and industry made his worthy father style Sir Philip in my hearing (though I unseen), *Lumen familiæ suæ*.

From Shrewsbury he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where he associated with Camden, and held a public disputa-

* A Spanish proverb—'Sanan cuchilladas y no malas palabras.'

tion with Carew; and in his eighteenth year Queen Elizabeth granted her licence 'to her trusty and well-beloved Philip Sidney, Esq., to go out of England, with three servants and four horses, to remain the space of two years immediately following his departure out of the realm, for his attaining the knowledge of foreign languages.' At this time he could write tolerable Latin and read Greek, but in all kinds of manly exercise was a great proficient: the body was then as careful an object of culture as the mind. '*Gratior est veniens in pulchro corpore virtus*,' was Sidney's maxim, as it was the general maxim of the time.

The grave Ascham says, in his *Schoolmaster*:—

Therefore, to ride comely, to run fair at tilt or ring, to play, to shoot from a bow or surely in gun, to vault lustily, to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim, to dance comely, to sing, to play on instruments cunningly, to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis, and at all pastimes generally which are joined with labour and are used in open place and in the daylight, which contain some fit exercise for war or some pleasant pastime for peace,—these be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use.

Sidney himself gave this advice at a later period to his younger brother:—

When you play at weapons, I would have you get thick caps and bracers, and play out your play lustily, for indeed ticks and dalliances are nothing in earnest, and use as well the blows as the thrust: it is good in itself, and will make you a strong man at tourney and barriers. First, in any case, practice the single sword, and then with the dagger: let no day pass without an hour or two of such exercise, the rest study and confer diligently.

Spenser thus describes his bodily accomplishments:—

> In wrestling nimble, and in running swift;
> In shooting steady, and in swimming strong;
> Well made to strike, to throw, to leap, to lift,
> And all the sports that shepherds are among.
> In every one he vanquished every one,
> He vanquished all, and vanquished was of none.*

Sidney's form was tall, manly, and graceful; his hair was of a dark amber colour; his complexion fair; his features so beautiful that Aubrey thought them somewhat too effeminate; his expression mild and pensive; from his youth even serious men had remarked that Sidney was serious beyond his years; not but that there was an inexhaustible fund of gentle humour and raillery in his nature. We imagine him to have been a little like Shelley in feature, but with a higher and squarer forehead, and lips more compressed.

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* Spenser's *Astrophel.*

He alludes to his own abstracted and thoughtful air several times in his sonnets :—

> The curious wits, seeing dull pensiveness
> Bewray itself in my long-settled eyes,*
>
> Because I oft in dark abstracted guise
> Seem most alone in greatest companie,
> With dearth of words or answers quite awry,
> To them that would make speech of speech arise,
> They deem, and of their doom the rumour flies,
> That poison foul of bubbling pride doth lie
> So in my swelling breast, that only I
> Fawne on myself, and others do despise.†

Sidney first went to Paris, forming, by the interest of his uncle Leicester, one of the suite of the Earl of Lincoln, Ambassador Extraordinary, and especially recommended to Sir Francis Walsingham, Resident Minister of England Sidney must have been struck with the difference which France presented, as he journeyed through it, from the peaceful fields of Kent. Two hostile nations, France Catholic and France Huguenot, had disputed every part of the soil for the last ten years. On both sides were chivalry, intolerance, and ferocity. In the ranks of both parties were to be found as well gallant and generous gentlemen as leaders like De Montluc and Des Adrets, captains who would make their prisoners leap from church-towers as an after-dinner pastime, and whose souls, incapable of mercy, might fling a life to a doomed man for an unexpected jest at the dizzy brink. Wherever the Huguenots had prevailed Sidney would see churches in ruins, their traceries and ornaments defaced, images mutilated, crosses broken, convents destroyed, tombs torn open and rifled. The Catholics left behind them temples burnt, plundered houses, farms and homesteads sacked and ravaged; and the young traveller would hear with commiseration many a tale of wholesale massacre and murder done on haughty Huguenots who had refused to do reverence to saints crowned with flowers set up to test them at corners of the streets. When Sidney passed, however, spring was effacing with its verdure the bloody footprints of civil war: a hollow truce prevailed. Catherine was tired of victories which, like Jarnac and Moncontour, led to no result, while the Huguenot party drew strength from the steel of the victor, under the leadership of men as unconquerable in defeat and as wise in judgment as the noble Coligny, and as impetuous in onset as the gallant Condé, who, with a fractured leg, dangling from the saddle, charged at the head of three hundred cavaliers on the mass

* *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet xxiii. † *Ibid.* sonnet xxvii.

of the Catholic forces, and perished in the very centre of their army.

The queen-mother had resolved on the ruin of the Protestant cause by a surer method, and proceeded in her plans with the stealthy slide of the viper, and with as cold a heart. The marriage between Henry of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois was to be an enduring bond of peace between Catholic and Protestant. Jeanne d'Albret, the strong-souled mother of the Béarnois, who had nothing about her of a woman but the sex, was enticed to court, and crowds of Huguenots were flocking to the capital. We may presume it was rather in pursuance of this plan that Charles IX. made the Protestant Sidney by sign-manual a gentleman of his bedchamber. Nevertheless, it was to the interest of the French court to be courteous to distinguished Englishmen, for although the treaty of marriage between Queen Elizabeth and Henry Duke of Anjou, the victor of Jarnac and Moncontour, had failed, another was on foot between the English Queen and the Duke d'Alençon. The young Sidney, introduced into the centre of that brilliant court of which he had heard so much, doubtless enjoyed life keenly; he could spend his days in jousting, hunting, and tennis, among the first gentlemen of Europe, with whose names he had been acquainted from boyhood, and his evenings amid the revelry and fascinations of the gilded and painted saloons of the Louvre. Without doubt he might have felt somewhat ill at ease, had the grave Coligny not been there to reassure him. Vice and luxury, bigotry and libertinism, assassination and ribaldry, made the court of the Valois a strange theatre of crime and splendour. Sidney, we may imagine, paid little attention to the Siren-glances of the heartless and glittering *filles d'honneur* whom the crafty Italian queen made the decoy-birds of her stratagems, and looked with reverence on the grey hairs of the admiral, the very type of his party, cautious in judgment, spotless in honour, inflexible in resolve, who was now apparently the bosom friend of Charles, and meditating new plans for the advancement of France, the abasement of Spain, and the stability of the Protestant cause. Another Huguenot gentleman whose acquaintance Sidney made was Duplessis Mornay, who became his friend for life. This young nobleman, after the death of Coligny, was the bosom friend of Henry IV., and the soul of the Huguenot party; he was of restless zeal and spotless integrity, a theologian, soldier, and publicist; his treatise on the *Truth of Christianity* was once famous, and in translating it Sidney spent many hours in his later years. With Count Lewis of Nassau, brother of the Prince of Orange, the rarest gentleman in France, as Walsingham styled him, Sidney also became acquainted, as

with Montgomery, Teligny, and all the chiefs of his own party. With no less interest, if with less sympathy, would Sidney observe the leaders of the opposite party. He must have treasured up an undying remembrance of the youthful Charles IX., whose wasted and livid features, and hollow eyes, betokened the fever that was consuming him within; whose weak resolve and ungovernable temperament were being goaded on to the worst crime of modern times. Sidney would view, too, with curiosity approaching to horror, that Jezebel of the Catholic party, who was said to fortify her infidel soul by the secret rites and incantations of a Canidia, and to wear about her person amulets of human blood and skulls. There was, too, the fearless and subtle Henry of Guise, plotting revenge for his father by a wholesale murder of the Huguenots, himself destined to fall by the poniard of the assassin.

Sidney must have recalled in after-life all the warnings which announced the approach of a frightful tragedy:—the rumours of poison which attended the death of Jeanne d'Albret; the entry of the young princes of Navarre and Condé into Paris at the head of 800 Huguenot gentlemen; the attempted assassination of the admiral; defiant Protestant cavaliers, trooping through the streets in their corslets before the hotels of the Guises; the air rife with suspicion; men knowing not what to dread; then a period of silence and gloom like that which precedes the bursting of the thunder-cloud.

On the night of the 23rd of August all the gates were locked, the boats and all means of escape seized, and arms placed in the hands of all the fanatics of Paris, with souls exasperated by ten years' civil war, and by the wicked maxims of the pulpits and confessional. The Secret Council met for the last time in the Louvre. The king hesitated. *E pieta lo esser crudele e crudelta lo esser pietoso* Catherine reiterated, and hinted suspicion of her son's courage. The young man, in a fury, gave orders for execution. The tocsin of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the old church of the royal parish, clanged out the signal. The streets instantly filled with armed men. The other steeples took up the burden. The flashing of torches on steel armour and white crosses, the clash of swords, the ring of pistol-shots and arquebuses, shouts and execrations of triumph, shrieks of despair, and the groans of the dead and dying, heralded in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

During this night of terror Sidney took refuge in the hotel of Walsingham, with whom he had already become a great favourite. Sidney's uncle, Leicester, alarmed for his safety, despatched a missive to Walsingham, signed by himself, Bur-

leigh, and the rest of the council, to advise the young man to return home. But, we apprehend, Sidney, too glad to escape from the scene of carnage, was spurring already across Lorraine, desirous to be out of a country where he found the same deeds of butchery had been perpetrated in every province. He went to Frankfort, to the house of Wechel, the printer, which was a rendezvous for men of Protestant opinions; and there he cemented a friendship with the learned and free-spirited Languet, who likewise had just escaped from the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The title of Languet's principal treatise, published by Duplessis Mornay after his death, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos!* is a sufficient testimony of the character of his politics. Following in the wake of Hotman, whose *Franco-Gallia* was to the 16th century what the *Contrat Social* was to the 18th, he distinctly enounced the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, and the right to depose and chastise tyrannous princes. Born in Burgundy, and escaping from the turmoil of civil war, and the oppression of the Protestants in France, Languet became a diplomatic agent of the German princes, and his name was respected throughout Europe for his intellect and integrity. Sidney's mild, ingenuous, and affectionate nature, his ripe judgment, strong intelligence, and manly bearing, quite won the heart of the solitary Languet; and he adopted him as the son of his knowledge and affections. Some time after Sidney's arrival at Frankfort, Languet was appointed to reside at Vienna to represent the Elector of Saxony, and Sidney accompanied him to the court of the Emperor. Vienna, the capital of the frontier states of Christendom, Hungary, and Austria offered many attractions to young gentlemen in those days on their travels, who were always on the look-out for what Sidney, later in life, recommended his younger brother, Robert, to be on the watch for, 'some good warrs.' The intrigues of the house of Zapolya, and the claims of the Turks over Hungary and the waiwodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, kept the House of Hapsburg in continual warfare; and the inhabitants of Vienna looked upon it as no improbable event, in Sidney's time, to see again before the walls of their capital the turbaned host of the Moslem, with all the wild dissonance and barbaric splendour of Asiatic warfare. Sidney made acquaintance with some of the very Auerspergs, Lichtensteins, Pappenheims, and Zedlitzes who had beaten off the conqueror of Rhodes from the Imperial city some fifty years before. At Vienna he remained some time, making himself acquainted, under Languet's direction, with the affairs of the Imperial court. From Vienna Sidney went to Venice. Venice was in those

days the ὄμφαλος γῆς, the capital of Europe; in diplomacy, painting, sculpture, architecture, and printing, Venice held a proud pre-eminence; and from the form and rig of a galley down to the cut of a doublet, and the furniture of the table, Venice gave the law to Europe. The enchantress of the Adriatic still sat in queenly beauty on the waters; the Aldine presses were still at work; her dockyards and factories still busy; the piazza and piazzetta of San Mark still thronged with the varied and rich costumes of the whole civilized world; the Madonnas of Bellini and Saints of Palma Vecchio yet undimmed by the breath of time; the gorgeously coloured and grand canvas of Titian, Tintoretto, and Paul Veronese new from the studio; the sculptures, bronzes, and edifices of Sansovino yet fresh from the mind of the artist; the workmen still busy on the conceptions of Palladio, whose domes and palaces still gleam along the Canal Grande in all the snowy effulgence of newly quarried marble.

To obtain an insight into the political affairs of Europe, no capital offered so advantageous a residence. The power of the republic had declined gradually since the League of Cambrai. Colony after colony had been torn from it. The conquests of the barbarous Turk on the one side, and the gloomy Spaniard on the other of the proud city, were viewed with equal dismay. Men were still living when Sidney was there who could tell of the terror which seized the Venetians when the disastrous news arrived of the battle of Pavia, which seemed to leave Spain without a rival in Europe. Not long before Sidney's arrival, the fall of the capital had delivered the whole of the fair island of Cyprus into the hands of their Ottoman foes, where the brave and noble Bragadino had made within the walls of Famagosta one of the most heroic defences on record.

Only two years before Sidney's arrival, the young and chivalrous Don John of Austria had, at Lepanto, at the head of the allied Christian forces, signally avenged the barbarities with which the Turks had put to death the defender of Famagosta. Two hundred Turkish vessels were taken, burnt, and sunk in the greatest naval battle which had been seen since the empire of the world was decided in that vicinity sixteen centuries before. Sidney must have heard the Venetians dilate with pride on the glorious part the Lion of St. Mark had played in that great sea-fight, in which six Venetian galleys lay like advanced floating-batteries in the front of the whole Christian fleet, and by the precision of their fire did incalculable damage to the infidels; while the gallant captains, Loredano and Malepieri, when they saw their admiral's ship in danger, dashed forward to his defence, and received their deaths amid the concentrated fire of the whole Turkish squadron.

Sidney remained eight months at Venice and Padua; and from there he carried on an earnest correspondence in Latin with his friend Languet, the greater part of which remains to us, and is of high interest. The old diplomatist—alone in the world with a spirit laden with gloom at the ruin of his country, the dangers of the Protestant party, and the calamities of his friends, living, as he said, a life more mournful than death itself—found the main consolation of his sorrows in communion with the generous and hopeful spirit of young Sidney, and was affected with the utmost solicitude for the welfare of the mind and body of his young pupil. 'Our friendship,' writes Languet, 'and the hopes I have conceived of your character, are my only comfort; if any misfortune befal you, I shall be the most unhappy of men.' Their correspondence contains much of the history of those anxious times, and is an evidence what brotherhood, stronger than ties of nationality, then united the members of the Protestant party all over Europe. A storm of commotion and bloody havoc was sweeping all over the Continent. Germany alone was reposing for awhile, but only to find a later desolation from the Duke of Friedland. The main interest of Sidney and Languet, however, was concentrated in the Netherlands, and on the great contest which the leader of the House of Orange and his brother, Sidney's Paris friend, Count Lewis of Nassau, were sustaining in behalf of the oppressed Netherlands against Philip, whose power and deadly hostility were thus diverted from the Moslem to the plains of Flanders. People had looked that the banners of old Castile should float above the walls of Constantinople; but the hatred of Protestant and Catholic was deeper than the common hatred of both against the Turk—and the Reformer, when he saw all the fleets and armies of Spain directed against the Netherlands, beheld with something like joy Italy no longer covered by the might of Spain against the assaults of the Ottoman power, and began to speculate, with something like hope, on the results to Europe, if St. Peter's, like another St. Sophia, should be swept clean from the idolatrous symbols of Papal superstition, and Rome as well as Constantinople subject to the dominion of the Crescent. During Sidney's stay at Venice events rapidly occurred which gave rise to the most thoughtful reflections. The last of the great race of the Jagellons had died, the Duke of Anjou was elected King of Poland, and his coronation was to be celebrated with unparalleled magnificence, forty thousand of the nobles going on horseback, gorgeously appareled, to meet him at the entrance to his kingdom. The Venetians, left by the Spaniards to make peace by themselves, seemed likely to draw small profit from the battle of Lepanto; and while Sidney was in Venice he would see the turbaned ambassadors of the

Sultan come to arrange the terms of the treaty. The events in Holland excited by turns the highest hopes and the deepest anxiety. The wise, cautious, and constant courage of William of Orange, and the daring successes of the Gueux, from time to time were chequered by the news of some such disaster as the death and defeat of Count Lewis, by the fear of the reputation and genius of Don Juan appointed to govern the Netherlands, by rumours of the sacks of cities, and of the ravage committed by the lawless hordes of Spaniards, Germans, and Walloons, who devastated the undefended portion of the country. In June, 1574, news reached Sidney of the death of Charles IX. The dying ears of the young king had been agonized by the cries and groans of the victims of St. Bartholomew in his guilty imagination. His brother, the new King of Poland, the next heir, fled away from the royal castle of Cracow like a thief, in the dead of night, carrying with him the royal jewels. Fearing that the Protestants of Germany would revenge on his person the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he took the circuit of Vienna and Venice to his own country. He came rapidly to Venice, and Sidney was a spectator of the magnificent *fêtes* with which the French king was received by the Doge Mocenigo and the Council of Ten. Henry III. was enraptured with the fair city, its gay population, its glass manufactures, its arsenal, its marble palaces and churches, and its unparalleled splendour; and when shown some of the captains of Lepanto, he clasped them to his heart, showered titles of nobility with the greatest prodigality, and desired to have his own name enrolled in the Golden Book.

Sidney held a prominent place in all these entertainments. Languet had made him acquainted with all that was distinguished in Venice. By the French ambassador De Ferrier he was especially esteemed. He, however, neglected not his studies, in order fully to perfect himself in all the sciences and arts necessary for a soldier, statesman, and gentleman. And for this purpose went for a time to Padua, which had formerly been Languet's own university: the outlines of astronomy, sufficient geometry for military purposes, an accurate study of modern languages, together with Cicero, Plutarch, and Aristotle, and a diligent practice of composition, occupied him almost wholly. In his hours of relaxation he lounged awhile in the studio of Paul Veronese, practised music, diverted himself with Count Hannau, Count Solms, and young Englishmen also on their travels, or sought improvement in the conversation of distinguished Italians.* After a short excur-

* It is said that he met with Tasso, who might have been at Padua about this time.

sion to Milan and Genoa, and after the departure of the French king, Sidney left Venice and proceeded immediately to Poland; took part in some skirmishes between the Poles and Russians on the frontiers; returned to Vienna in November, 1574, and there pursued his studies diligently under the direction of Languet. Here he contracted an intimacy with Edward Wootton, the 'right vertuous E. W.' of the *Defense of Poesie*, and the brother of Sir Henry Wootton, with whom, as he informs us, in the same *Defense of Poesie*, he took lessons of horsemanship from one John Pietro Pagliano, who was so eloquent in the praise of that 'peerless beast the horse,' that Sidney says, 'If I had not been a piece of a logician before I came to him, I think he would have persuaded me to wish myself a horse.' In the spring the Emperor went to Prague. Languet and Sidney followed with the court, saw the opening of the Bohemian Diet together, and then parted. Sidney's leave of absence having expired, he returned to England, where he arrived at the end of May, 1575.

Sidney, on his appearance at court, excited unmixed admiration. He neither lisped nor wore strange suits, as too many in those days did, as if, he wrote to his brother, all the credit of a traveller lay in his outside. Inwardly adorned with all the graces that foreign travel, delicate taste, and studious habits could combine, his modest bearing disarmed envy, and his success was complete. Elizabeth condescended to call him 'her Philip,' as she addressed his father in writing 'Harry.' Sidney, occupied with court distractions, visits to members of his family, to his father, Lord Deputy in Ireland, with the arrangements for the marriage of his accomplished sister Mary to the Earl of Pembroke,* found little time to write to Languet, whose assiduity, however, was constant: and it is touching, even at this distance of time, to read how much affection the old man had in his heart for this heir of his adoption; how anxiously he looked for Sidney's letters; what suspense he felt when he was long without them, begging that a servant might write so that he only could have news of him; how he had Sidney's portrait framed and hung up before his eyes, regretting that the original did not try to look more cheerful when the painter took it, that it might smile at him sometimes; how solicitous he was for his safety amid 'the horrid Welsh mountains and the stormy Irish Sea;' how constantly he repeats his desire to see Sidney married and follow his friend Wootton's example; how proud he is of Sidney's affectionate

* The Earl of Leicester, her uncle, paid the larger part of the marriage portion. Sir Henry Sidney, in a letter to Leicester, lamented that his ability 'answered not his harty desyer'—'I am poor.'

letters when they arrive; and how careful to inform him of all that is important among the events of the Continent. The knowledge he imparted of German and Continental politics soon became eminently useful. Walsingham, who already felt immense interest in Sidney from their short intercourse at Paris, was now Secretary of State; and finding the eminent abilities of his young friend so fertilized by observation and study, his manners noble, attractive, and conciliating, his judgment and penetration remarkable—'over-shooting him,' as he himself said, 'with his own bow'—obtained for the young courtier the important mission of condoling with the Emperor Rodolph on the death of his father. The mild and tolerant Maximilian was dead, and Rodolph, who had been educated in Spain and was known to be indoctrinated with Spanish ambition and Spanish bigotry, was the arbiter of the fortunes of Germany. The cautious statesmen of England, who felt the existence of England was bound up with the Reformation, were anxious to know what the policy of the new Emperor was likely to be, and Sidney, from his familiarity with the Imperial Court, seemed marked out for the embassy. This ambassador of one-and-twenty also had another and more important mission allotted to him, to sound the resolution of the German princes, and endeavour to unite them in a league against the ambition and intolerance of Rome and Spain. He left England with a splendid retinue, accompanied by his friend Fulke Greville. Wherever Sidney stayed the following inscription was placed over the portal of the hotel:—

Illustrissimi et generosissimi viri
Philippi Sidnœi Angli
Proregis Hiberniæ fili, Comitum Warwici,
Et Leicestriæ nepotis,
Serenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ ad Cæsarem legati.

During the greater part of his journey he enjoyed the counsel and society of Languet. Both ends of his mission were satisfactorily performed, and Elizabeth was pleased with his address, his letters and reports, and the general conduct of his embassy; even the rugged brow of Burleigh, which it was said frowned at everybody's merits but his own, relaxed from its austerity at the recital of his services. Sidney thus had a favourable opportunity of becoming well known to all the leaders of the Protestant cause in Germany and Belgium; and it is to the golden opinions he left behind him of his merit wherever he went, that we are doubtless to attribute that European reputation which he obtained. In the Palatinate he formed a strict intimacy with Prince Casimir, son of the Palatine, one of the champions of Protestantism, famous for his campaigns in France and Belgium. But the highest

testimony Sidney, perhaps, in his whole life, received to his merits, was from William of Orange, accounted the wisest and most politic chief in all Christendom, who, when a boy, was of the council of Charles V., who, appointed by that Emperor to command his army in Flanders, at twenty-one, had kept in check Coligny and Nevers; on whose arm Charles leant on the day of his abdication, and whom he recommended to his son Philip as the choicest treasure in his dominions. Sidney was burning with impatience to pay homage to this great prince, when a command came from the queen, giving him the advantage of introducing himself as the accredited minister of Elizabeth. He found the prince at Delft. Fulke Greville thus describes his appearance:—

> His uppermost garment was a gown, yet such as (I dare confidently affirm) a mean-born student of our inns of court would not have been well pleased to walk the streets in. Unbuttoned his doublet was, and of like precious matter and form to the other. His waistcoat, which showed itself under it, not unlike the best sort of those woollen knit ones which our ordinary watermen row in. His company about him the burgesses of that beer-brewing town [Delft].

So great was the impression Sidney made on the Prince of Orange in the interviews which followed, that he afterwards enjoined Fulke Greville to inform the queen of his protest that, if he were a judge, she had one of the ripest and greatest counsellors of state in Sir Philip Sidney in that day in Europe, of his earnest desire to see him employed in a manner worthy of his abilities; a message, however, which Sidney stayed in the transmission. He likewise presented himself to Don Juan of Austria, then governor in the Netherlands, and beholders were surprised to see the strict reserve of Spanish etiquette give way before Sidney's graceful and seductive courtesy.

From this time until his nomination to command in the Netherlands Sidney was little employed in the public service. He was not ambitious and not at all conversant with the little arts by which men creep, or the ruthless daring by which they leap, to power. Often he would tell Languet, when together on the Continent, that he was not fitted for the excitement and jealousies of court life, and that his chief desire was to spend his life in studious retirement, in the society of sincere friends. Burleigh, who was now all-powerful, was constantly thwarting Sir Henry Sidney, and endeavouring to undermine his reputation; and the ill-feeling he had for the father in some measure descended on the son. Burleigh's neglect of rising merit was not uncommon. Spenser writes—

> O grief of griefs, O gall of all good hearts,
> To see that vertue should dispisèd be

> Of him that first was raised for virtuous parts,
> And now broad spreading like an aged tree.
> Let none shoot up that nigh have planted be.*

Although his society was, we learn from Languet, sought for by all courtiers who had any sense of real nobility and worth, he preferred to pass his time with such intimate friends as Fulke Greville and Dyer, whom Bacon calls 'a grave and wise gentleman,' among men of letters, fellow-contributors to *England's Helicon*, *England's Parnassus*, and other poetical magazines of that day. He sought everywhere for merit, and protected it. Every learned foreigner and exile rejoiced in his patronage, and made him dedications, — Henry Stephens, Giordano Bruno, Scipio Gentilis. 'Gentle Sir Philip Sidney,' lamented Nash, when he was gone, 'thou knewest what belongeth to a scholar,— what pains, what toil, what travel leadeth to perfection.' Gabriel Harvey, we learn, was allowed to 'make no bones of taking the wall of Sir Philip in his Venetian velvet.' Harvey was a man of letters a little too affected, a little too 'Italianated,' and a great deal too fond of endeavouring to naturalize dactyls and spondees in English poetry. To him England owes a debt of gratitude; he persuaded a young and bashful poet—a master of arts of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, to come up from his obscure retirement in the north and try his fortune in London. The young man came and was introduced by Harvey to Sidney, and shortly after appeared the *Shepherd's Calendar*, by Edmund Spenser, dedicated to Master Philip Sidney. Sidney advised the new poet to attempt to build the loftiest rhyme, and 'change for trumpet sterne his oaten reeds.' It is said that when Sidney had read the description of the cave of Despair, he ordered 100*l.* to be given to Spenser for each stanza as he read, till he threw down the MS., saying, if he continued to read, he should give away all his fortune. Spenser wrote, shortly after his introduction: 'As for the worthy gentlemen, Master Sidney and Master Dyer [elsewhere he calls them 'the very diamonds of her Majesty's court'], they have me, I thank them, in some use of familiarity.'

Sidney invited Spenser down to Penshurst, and there they read Plato and Aristotle together, discussed the relative merits of Tasso and Ariosto, or sauntered under the shade of the spreading beeches and the broad chestnuts by the side of the quiet Medway. It was not unnatural indeed for Sidney to seek consolation in retirement with so gentle a spirit as

* *Mother Hubberde's Tale.*

Spenser. His affections had received a severe wound: he was attached in early life to the beautiful, witty, and high-spirited Lady Penelope, daughter of Walter, Earl of Essex. The earl desired the match ardently. The match was regarded as certain, when the earl was suddenly taken ill and died. On his deathbed he desired to be commended to Mr. Philip,—

And tell him I send him nothing, but I wish him well, and so well that if God do move both their hearts, I desire he might match with my daughter. I call him son, he is so virtuous, wise, and godly; and if he go on in the cause he hath begun, he will be as famous and worthy a gentleman as ever England had.

The secretary of Essex, writing shortly afterwards to Sir Henry Essex, said, 'I suppose all the best sort of the English lords do expect what will become of the treaty between Mr. Philip and my Lady Penelope.' But the match was broken off, and Lady Penelope was married in 1580 to another suitor, Lord Rich, the dull and uneducated grandson of Lord Chancellor Rich, a man the vilest perhaps in the annals of the law. We know not the reason of the failure of Sidney's hopes: Atalanta, we suppose, however eager to run the race of affection, was obliged to stoop to the golden apple. It was an unfortunate marriage: the ill-assorted couple never lived on good terms, and were finally divorced.* The attachment between the old lovers continued, and *Astrophel and Stella* is the history of Sidney's love after the marriage of Lady Rich. There is a beautiful sonnet, however, not included in this collection, which shows the efforts Sidney made to overcome his attachment:—

Leave me, oh Love! which reachest but to dust,
And thou, my mind, aspire to higher things;
Grow rich on it which never taketh rust:
Whatever fades but fading pleasure brings.
Draw in thy beames, and humble all thy might
To that sweet yoke where lasting freedoms be,
Which breaks the clouds, and opens forth the light
That doth both shine and give us light to see.
Oh, take fast hold! let that light be thy guide
In this small course which birth draws out till death,
And think how ill becometh him to slide
Who seeketh heaven, and comes of heavenly breath.
Then farewell world, thy uttermost I see,
Eternall Love maintain thy life in me.

* Stella, later, caused some scandal by an amour with Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, with whom Essex fought the duel about the gold chess-queen. Devonshire married Stella in 1605.

Sidney, however, did not allow his unfortunate passion to prevent him from performing all his duties as a servant of the queen, a knight, and a citizen. His name appears constantly in—

> dunce Holingshed,
> The Englishman that wrote of shows and sheriffs.

In jousts and tournaments he was ever the most distinguished for the splendour of his armour, the taste of his devices, the excellence of his horsemanship, and the knightly grace with which he shivered the greatest number of spears. In most of the gorgeous masques and revels of that age, whose splendour and magnificence inflamed later the grand imagination of Shakespeare, Sidney was a performer. He was often at court, and the leader of the noblest fashions of the day, in direct contrast with the frizzled, jewelled, and fantastically dressed gentlemen who were to be seen in those regions. He endeavoured, says Fulke Greville, to restore the ancient majesty of noble and true dealing. He also tried to correct the quaint and conceited jargon of the euphuist, and the talk of those who affected to exhibit profound scholarship in their ordinary talk, 'by Latinated and inkhorn terms,' who, to use the language of *Holofernes*, 'drew out the thread of their verbosity finer than the staple of their argument.'

Sidney never lost sight of Continental matters. His friend Duplessis Mornay was in England for some time, endeavouring to persuade the queen to form an offensive and defensive league with Henry of Navarre. Languet, too, visited England for a short time, in company with Prince Casimir. Sidney continually corresponded with him till the death of the noble old man in 1581; the main public objects of his interest were the defence of his father's government in Ireland, the foreign relations of England, and the war in Belgium. Sir Henry Sidney, in his endeavours to settle the government of Ireland on a firm basis, met with a great deal of envious misrepresentation and opposition. He had always enemies at court; his soldiers left without money, clothes, shoes, or bread; his own measures of taxation opposed, and when he appeared at the queen's court, which he sometimes did, with a train of 200 attendants on horseback, the courtiers would sneer in his very hearing at his exploits and his retinue.

It appears that there were some about him at Dublin that were not to be trusted, who revealed his plans and thoughts to his enemies. The suspicion of Sidney fell on Molineux, his father's secretary, and the following note was the consequence:—

MR. MOLINEUX,

Few words are best. My letters and my father's have come to the eye of some; neither can I condemn any other but you for it. If it be so, you have played the very knave with me, and so I will make you know if I have good proof of it. But that for so much as is past. For that is to come, I assure you, before God, that if ever I know you do so much as read any letter I write to my father, without his commandment or my consent, I will thrust my dagger into you, and trust to it, for I speak in earnest. In the meantime farewell. From court, this last of May, 1578.

By me,
PHILIPPE SIDNEY.

We imagine this letter to have been intended only to make poor Molineux careful: it appears to have fallen like a shell upon him. His innocence in the matter, on reply, Sidney readily admitted. A more serious affair was likely to have arisen from an attack by Ormond on Sir Henry in the House of Lords. Sidney wrote an energetic defence of his father, and treated Ormond himself, though allied to the queen, with a rigour which made him afterwards retract.

But Sidney came prominently forward in a more important matter: he opposed energetically the marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou.* The duke had been nominated in their need by the States of Holland sovereign of the Low Countries, and it seemed probable that he would also place on his brow the crown of England. He never ceased from the age of eighteen to be a suitor to the queen; and though there was twenty-five years' difference in their age, and the duke was ill-made, of sullen appearance, and horribly marked with small-pox, his pertinacity and high-flown flattery appear to have pleased Elizabeth. Ten times the maiden queen was on the very verge of matrimony. The treaty for the marriage had been settled with the most minute stipulations—which son was to be King of France and which of England, and if only one son, how long he was to remain in France, how long in England. The queen seemed pleased beyond measure at the prospect of union; she appeared with him in public, she discoursed with him in private, but, most convincing testimony of all—that frugal princess really lent him money, and on the festival of her day of coronation placed the ring of betrothal on his finger in the sight of a great assemblage. The Flemings, who looked on the queen as their guardian Pallas, when they heard the news, declared their joy by immense bonfires and salvos of

* This was the Duke d'Alençon, who became Duke d'Anjou when his brother, the former Duke d'Anjou, became Henry III.

artillery. Most Englishmen, however, and especially the sincere friends of the Reformation, indignantly scouted the notion of the marriage of the Protestant queen with the son of the wicked Jezebel of France—with the brother of a Catholic king, whose court was a worse sink of corruption than that of Nero or Heliogabalus—with a prince himself known to be an atheist, a traitor, and untrue. Walsingham and all the statesmen of England hated the match; Sidney was with them, and wrote his spirited and well-reasoned address to the queen, the most interesting document of the time, whose style and argument show a scholar, a man, a patriot, and a statesman. It was a bold proceeding in those days. Others were less fortunate. It was then the pamphlet appeared, written by Stubbs and printed by Page, called, *The Gulf in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage.* The culprits had their right hands hewn off, Camden looking on; the crowd portentously silent. The times were grave. Stubbs with his left hand, as is known, waved his hat, and cried, 'God save the queen!' Page cried, 'There lies the hand of a true Englishman!' The safety of the queen was dear to every Reformer in Europe. Anjou, however, had a strong party among the nobility. Oxford was of these; the very pink of foreign foppishness and affectation, lately come back from his travels: Italianated in his talk; ridiculed by Harvey, Sidney's friend, in the *Speculum Tuscanismi;* rouged, begemmed, frizzled, perfumed, with doublet and hose of most astounding colours; jagged and slashed from head to foot all over. Oxford found Sidney playing at tennis in the court at Whitehall—ordered him off. Sidney took no notice. Oxford grew angry—ejaculated, 'Puppy!' Sidney retorted, 'Liar!' and then Oxford, δεινὸν δερκόμενος, said nothing. The French ambassadors being by, enjoying the quarrel, Sidney thought it better to avoid further dispute then and there, and left the court. He was quiet a day or two, expecting to hear from Oxford, who remained δν θυμὸν κατέδων without demonstration, whereupon Sidney sent him a friend. The queen, however, heard of the dispute, and told Sidney to go no further, reminding him of the difference between lords and gentlemen. Sidney's reply was both dignified and courageous. Among other things he said that, however great a lord he was, he was no lord over him, and retired from court to Wilton, the residence of his sister; and to this quarrel we mainly owe the Countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia,* which was composed for the amusement of his sister, whose pen is supposed to have contributed not a little to it when she arranged its scattered and unfinished sheets after Sidney's

death. The countess had a room at Wilton painted with scenes from her brother's beautiful romance.

But Sidney could not long remain immersed in literary ease, insensible to the great interests then at stake in Europe. His friend, Languet, was constantly writing to excite him to bestir himself in a manner worthy the vast expectations formed of his merits. We accordingly find that he returned again to court, that he entered Parliament as member for Kent, that he was active on committees for providing measures in defence of the Protestant religion,* that he was appointed one of the splendid escort of Anjou to the Netherlands, and that he solicited Burleigh in vain for earnest employment under the Crown. In 1583 he married Frances, only daughter and heiress of Walsingham, of whom we know little beyond that her beauty and accomplishments are spoken of by Camden,† and in the same year he was knighted, on being appointed proxy by Prince Casimir, at an installation of the Garter. It was clear that the secret hatred of England and Spain must at last come to an open rupture. Sidney from the first was for active measures and declared hostilities: he said true heartedness to the Reformation was the cause of England's safety in the beginning, and that such a policy, when once entered on, was 'like a ship in a storm, it might be dangerous, but there was no safety out of it.' He thought the temporizing system then followed with the enemies of the faith was but the endeavour to keep upright on the top of every billow. 'His chief ends,' says his friend Fulke Greville, 'were not wife, children, nor himself; but, above all things, the honour of his Maker, and service of his prince and country.' Of late years every incident seemed to favour the haughty and sombre ambition of the Escurial. The young and chivalrous Don Sebastian had perished in a campaign against the Moors on the fatal field of Alcazar, and left the crown of Portugal to an aged and childless uncle on the brink of the grave. Three pretenders claimed the kingdom on the death of this last sovereign, of whom Philip was one, and Don Antonio, Sidney's friend, the other. Don Antonio was driven a fugitive from the kingdom, Philip proclaimed king by the Portuguese Cortes, and Portugal annexed to Spain. 'Portugal, we say,' writes Sidney, 'is lost, and, to conclude, my eyes are over-watched

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* *Journals of House of Commons*, vol. i. pp. 119, 120.

† Sidney's wife is mentioned affectionately in his will. They had one daughter, afterwards married to the Earl of Rutland. She died without issue. Sidney's wife was twice married after her husband's death; first to the famous Earl of Essex, next to the fourth Earl of Clanricarde.

with tedious business.' The addition of thePortuguese colonies, of the East Indies, Africa, and the Brazils, to the immense possessions of Spain, was enough to excite the greatest apprehension. All other events seemed to turn out for the advantage of Philip. The incompetence and treachery of Anjou had caused him to be driven from the Netherlands. The League in France, known to be animated by the spirit of Philip and the Inquisition, seemed to hold the French king at their mercy. Anjou died, and Henry of Navarre became the next heir to the crown. At the prospect of the crown of Charlemagne and St. Louis descending on the head of a heretic and *relaps*, the League was seized with renewed fury, the preachers in the pulpits of Paris were furious, the Jesuits were everywhere bound body and soul to Philip, who was virtually master of half the French nation. Things in Belgium seemed to grow worse and worse; and the assassination of the great Prince of Orange, the column of the Reformation, brought matters to a crisis. All eyes were turned on England and Elizabeth: with the Catholics she was the she-wolf of England—the Jezebel of Protestantism (Jezebel was a favourite word in the mouth of the preacher of those days); with the Reformers she was the Zenobia of the West, the lion-like defender of the true faith. The queen lived in constant dread of being taken off by poison or the dagger, and of the countless plots of the Jesuits and the Spaniards. Secret treaty upon treaty had been formed for the annihilation of the Protestant party in Europe, by extirpating the Huguenots, rooting up Geneva, the metropolis of heresy, and then falling conjointly on England, liberating the Queen of Scots, marrying her to a Catholic prince, and establishing her on the throne of England. Sidney was weary with the delays and blindness of the advisers of Elizabeth: he pressed more and more for active measures. He pined himself for action; he shared the restless passion which drove all the finest young men of the day—

> Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there,
> Some to discover islands far away.

He longed to serve as a volunteer in the Low Countries—to fight for Don Antonio and the crown of Portugal—to share the brilliant successes of Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins; but Elizabeth kept the daring young spirits of her court under maternal watch and ward. Such 'mad fellows' as dared engage in foreign service without her permission met with such a reception on their return as was not calculated to increase their number. Sidney received an offer to stand as a candidate for Poland, but the queen refused to part 'with the jewel of her

crown.' He then secretly planned an expedition with Drake to America, and engaged therein all his credit and that of his friends. He saw two ways of lessening the power of Spain—one by attacking her at home, the other by ruining her colonies, and cutting off her fleets of precious galleons from America. The expedition was on the point of starting: Drake waited but for Sidney; he, with Fulke Greville, stole away from court; the queen got wind of their intentions, and Drake received a message to take Sidney at his peril. Sidney stopped one message by putting two of his sailors in disguise, and robbing the bearer. Before Drake started, however, a peer came down post-haste to offer him the governorship of Flushing and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins, and a command of horse under his uncle Leicester. The queen had determined actively to interfere in the Low Country matters; and one of the conditions was that the towns of which Sidney was appointed governor were to be put into her hands by way of security.

Sidney passed over immediately to Flushing. When Leicester arrived, he was received with acclamations, thunders of great ordnance, processions, speeches, and triumphal arches. The Hollanders thought their deliverance was at hand. While Sidney lived, his wise counsel and gentle influence moderated the pride and assisted the incompetence of Leicester, smoothed the dissensions which raged in the camp, and made him rapidly beloved by both men and leaders. Notwithstanding his severe domestic affliction, for he now lost both father and mother within a few weeks of each other, his letters show how given up heart and soul he was to the cause of reform; how wise and provident were his designs. But his career was to be brief. He surprised Axel by a swift and silent march and a night attack; he failed through treachery in an attack on Gravelines, but his consummate prudence saved the greater part of his men. At length the fatal day arrived which has immortalized him for all time. Leicester was besieging Zutphen: it was September, raw Low Country weather; a large force of Spanish horse and foot, taking advantage of the fog, endeavoured to throw provisions into the town. The English got rapidly to horse. Sidney put himself at the head of 200 troopers, and seeing the marshal of the camp without greaves, in emulation cast off his own. The action was sharp and desperate: the English vastly outnumbered. Sidney charged through the enemies, put to flight their cavalry, and rescued his friend Willoughby, who was surrounded. One horse was killed under him—he mounted another. The cannon played upon his little troop from the ramparts of Zutphen and so did the muskets from

the trenches. A shot from the latter took Sidney in the thigh. His uncle Leicester met him shortly after, still on horseback, faint and bleeding from 'the grievousest wound,' the earl writes, 'that I ever saw from a bullet.' He spoke good and cheering words to everybody he met, of their reason to be hopeful from this success for the cause of the good faith, of his love to the queen, and his unconcern about his own wound.

In which sad progress, passing along the rest of the army where his uncle the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for drink, which was presently brought him; but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly, casting up his eyes at the bottle, which Sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head before he drank and delivered it to the poor man with these words, 'Thy necessity is greater than mine.' And when he had pledged this poor soldier, he was presently carried to Arnheim.

Sixteen days of suffering preceded his death. His bones, says Fulke Greville, were worn through his delicate skin. It was thought at first he would be saved, but mortification set in. He died, a Christian martyr and soldier, discoursing to the last like a poet and philosopher. His wife and his young brother were constantly by his side. He gently rebuked Robert, who was thus to lose father, mother, and brother within a few short months, for his violent grief. His last words to Robert were:—

Love my memory, cherish my friends, their faith to me may assure you they are honest; but above all govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator, in me beholding the end of this world and all her vanities.

Every circumstance of his final agony showed that in death, as in life, religion was the chief stay of his existence. He declared himself to be a poor worm; he said his former life was 'vain, vain;' he earnestly prayed to remain conscious to the last of the sacred fervour of his intrusted hope. His chaplain, in his last moments, besought him, if he still felt inward gladness and consolation in God, to hold up his hand. The beholders cried with joy as he waved it on high; it fell again; he joined his palms upon his breast, and the pale features of Sidney, in their youth and beauty, lay inanimate before them. The thirty-third year of the young hero was his last; he died on the 7th of October, 1586.

The death of no man since that of Sir Thomas More caused so great sensation in Europe. Even the iron soul of Philip was moved at the loss to the world of so noble a gentleman. Mendoza, his ambassador, who had been expelled from England, bewailed his premature end. From Elizabeth, Henry

of Navarre, the court of Vienna, down to the humblest student of letters, the meanest soldier of the army, and the toil-worn peasant at Penshurst, all lamented that noble spirit. Oldys counted up 200 authors who had written elegiacs upon him.

The States solicited the honour of giving Sidney a public funeral, but he was buried with great pomp in old St. Paul's. His own black pinnace conveyed him across: the sails black; the hull hung round with black cloth, on which were emblazoned the rich heraldic ensigns of his family. He was placed on board with military honours—drums muffled, pipes playing softly, pikes, arquebuses, and flags trailing, discharge of small shot and great ordnance. The procession through the streets of old London was grand even for those days of pageantry. The fashion of it is to be seen to this day in an engraving by Thomas Lant, pursuivant. The mourners went slowly onward through the crowded streets; houses thronged to the house-top, many sobbing and crying; the lord-mayor and aldermen, on stately horses, robed in purple; deputies from foreign states; poor and rich, noble and commoner, soldier and civilian; his caparisoned war-steeds and rich escutcheons marshalled in funeral state before and behind the cold remains of the most noble and most beloved gentleman of Europe.

He was [says Lord Broke] a true model of worth, a man fit for conquest, plantation, reformation, or what action soever is greatest and hardest among men, withal such a lover of mankind and good that whosoever had any real parts in him found comfort, participation, and protection to the uttermost of his power; like Zephyrus, he giving life wherever he blew. The universities abroad and at home accounted him a general Mæcenas of learning, dedicated their books to him, and communicated every invention or improvement of knowledge with him. Soldiers honoured him, and were so honoured by him, as no man thought he marched under the true banner of Mars that had not obtained Sir Philip Sidney's approbation. Men of affairs, in most parts of Christendom, entertained correspondency with him. But what speak I of these with whom his own ways and ends did concur? since, to descend, his heart and capacity were so large, that there was not a cunning painter, a skilful engineer, an excellent musician, or any other artificer of extraordinary fame, that made not himself known to this famous spirit and found him his true friend without hire and the common rendezvous of worth in his time.

It remains for us to give some account of Sidney's literary productions. Beautiful and chaste as these are for the most part, delicate both in language and conception, we have here a very small portion of Sidney—we have merely Sidney in his hours of ease writing for the amusement of himself and friends. Sidney's real poem was his life, and his real teaching was his example.

The *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney is a book which everybody has heard of, but which everybody does not now certainly read. Its popularity must have been very great, when an ancient censor could say of the ladies, 'Instead of songs and musick, let them learn cookerie and launderie, and instead of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, let them read the grounds of good housewifery.' As far as the *Arcadia* is concerned, that crabbed monitor in the present age would have little to complain of: has the neglect of the *Arcadia* produced better housewifery? Ladies of those days, notwithstanding the *Arcadia*, had excellent skill in the making of comfits and cordials, and even in chirurgery.

> The silk well could they twist and twine,
> And make the fine marchpine,
> And with the needle work;
> And they could help the priest to say
> His mattins on a holy day,
> And sing a psalm at kirk.

Few books ever enjoyed a wider popularity in their day than the *Arcadia*, or have included so many suffrages of minds of every character and every capacity. Not only did maids of honour about the court and burgesses' daughters devour its pages with rapture, but it was the favourite of Spenser, of Shakespeare, of Beaumont and Fletcher, of Ben Jonson, and of Waller and Milton; it was the prison companion of Charles I.; gentle Cowper delighted to wile away the hours with Sidney, 'warbler of poetic prose.' Its popularity and its neglect are easily accounted for. Sidney—and this should always be remembered—was the first writer of good English prose; and it is marvellous, reading the book in the present day, to see with what a delicate tact he had divined the capacity of the English language for prose composition, and how few obsolete words he has made use of, writing in advance of the great Elizabethan epoch; he reads, indeed, more modern than any writer of that century. His style was easy, legible, and copious, after the cramped and crabbed authors who had preceded him, full of their inkhorn terms and old, withered, and Latinated words.* Nor was it in style alone that he was an inventor; the reader began to tire of—

> The Tristrams, Launcelots, Turpins, and the Peers,
> All the mad Rolands and sweet Olivers

* We do not of course mean to say there do not exist good passages of antique prose in Chaucer, Wickliffe, Sir Thomas More, and Latimer. But Sidney's prose is the first, with a well-woven structure of sentences, and intelligible to the ordinary reader, from the paucity of obsolete words.

Of Merlin's marvels and his Cabal's loss,
With the Chimæra of the Rosie Cross.

With Ben Jonson, again, we may say:—

Had he compiled from *Amadis de Gaule*
The Esplandians, Arthurs, Palmerins, and all
The learned library of Don Quixote
And so some goodlier monster had begot,*

he would have left little mark in the history of the literature of England. People wanted no more *Guys of Warwick, Bevises of Hampton, Knights of the Sun, Huons of Bordeaux.* They knew quite enough of the *Seven Champions of Christendom*, of *King Arthur and Excalibur*, of *Tristram of Lyoness, Lancelot and Queen Guenever*, and the dolorous deaths of all the *Knights of the Round Table*, at Camelot.†

They had disputed enough, like Don Quixote and the curate of the village, as to which was the best knight, Palmerin of England or Amadis de Gaule. *Amadis de Gaule*, indeed, like the *Orlando Furioso*, overtopped all the romances of its kind; and many a heart, as Sidney says, in his *Defense of Poesie*, had been moved by it 'to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage;' but now that the revival of learning and the Reformation had chased the shades and spectres wan of the dark ages from the minds of men, something more than endless stories of adventures, enchanted castles, infidel magicians, and monotonous combats with dragons, giants, and knights was required. Something was wanted which morally and intellectually should correspond to the advancing phase of the European mind. Translations from the classics and Italian and Spanish tales had thrown the old literature of chivalry into the background. Spenser allegorized the old fictions, and by putting into them more than met the ear, delighted and elevated the mind by the transformation. But Sidney, rejecting most of the old machinery, and retaining somewhat of adventurous incident, carried along by a constant play of chivalrous feeling, animated by his own 'high erected thoughts seated in a heart of courtesie,' introducing a delicacy of taste and sentiment that was quite new, constructed a tale, the nature of which admitted of discourses

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* Ben Jonson's *Underwoods*, vol. viii. p. 416. Ed. Gifford.

† . . Of what resounds
In fables or romance of Uther's son,
Begirt with British and Armoric knights.
Milton's *Par. Lost*, i. 579.

Of fiery damsels met in forest wide,
By knights of Logres and of Lyoness,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.
Par. Reg. ii. 360.

on the affections, passions, and events of life, observations on human nature and the social and political relations of men, and all the deductions which a richly endowed and cultivated mind had drawn from actual experience. The *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney is not a mere pastoral romance, like the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro,* the *Diana* of Jorge de Montemayor, or the *Arcadia* of Lope de Vega. The two former were already popular before the appearance of Sidney's *Arcadia.* Sidney was well acquainted with both, and translated several pieces of the *Diana.* The work of the Neapolitan poet is a mere pastoral romance, and is written partly in prose and partly in verse; the style chaste, but somewhat frigid, with pleasant descriptive passages. The *Diana* was made somewhat after the model of Sannazaro's pastoral, and is not without merit; the poetry, however, vastly inferior to that of Garcilaso de la Vega. The *Diana* was spared by the curate, in the burning of Don Quixote's library, as being the first of its class, although the niece was for condemning it with the rest; it was no good, she said, escaping from the chivalrous lunacy, if one fell into the pastoral, and went about the woods and meadows shearing and singing, and were driven at last to do something worse, to become a poet—*lo que seria peor, hacerse poeta, que segun dicen es enfermedad incurable y pegadiza.* Sidney has followed his two predecessors in the interspersing his prose with poetry, in the eclogues, and in placing his characters in an imaginary pastoral country; but in the proportions, structure, and incidents has more followed the Æthiopic history of Heliodorus †—the Bishop of Tricca in Thessaly—a romance which had lately been translated from the Greek. The lives and adventures of *Theagenes and Chariclea* were devoured doubtless with as much pleasure by the young Sidney as they were afterwards by the young author of *Phèdre,* who, after three copies were taken away from him and burnt, learnt the fourth by heart. But Sidney's romance bears no trace of any servile imitation—the plan, characters, and incidents are fully original; and his audience at Wilton might trace many resemblances in the portraits and events, which proved that Sidney had largely drawn, as every artist must, from the men and history of his time. His own life-long friendship with Fulke Greville was in his mind when he portrayed the loving unity of Musidorus and Pyrocles. Indeed, in the chivalrous, sensitive, and

* From SANNAZARO's *Arcadia* Shakespeare probably took the name of Ophelia.

† Sidney, in his *Defense of Poesie,* places Heliodorus among the poets, for 'his sugred invention of that picture of love in *Theagenes and Chariclea.*'

beautiful Pyrocles we trace a resemblance to Sidney, and in the somewhat severer and haughtier Musidorus to Fulke Greville. In the two sisters, the sweet and bashful Philoclea and the majestic and noble Pamela, the image of his accomplished sister and the daughter of Essex, his own Stella, were doubtless not absent from his mind. In the treacherous, ambitious, and cruel Cecropia, Catherine de' Medici may perhaps be portrayed; in the good and wise governor Euarchus, and his pacification of rebel states, many doubtless saw the likeness to his own father, Sir Henry Sidney; and for the revolts of the clowns and the popular commotions, we doubt not he profited by the stories of the rebellion of Ket the tanner, and Wyatt's attempt of the Northern insurrection. The story, moreover, had a moral end. 'I know,' says Lord Broke, 'his purpose was to limn out such exact pictures of every posture in the mind, that any man being forced in the strains of this life to pass through any straights or latitudes of good or ill fortune (might, as in a glasse) see how to set a good countenance upon all the discountenances of adversity, and a stay upon the exorbitant smiling of chance.'

A slight sketch of the tale will show how unjustly Walpole termed it a tedious, lamentable, pedantic pastoral romance.

Pyrocles and Musidorus were cousins. The two young princes were reared together, under the care of the widowed mother of Musidorus. They—

> Grew up together like two wanton vines,
> Curling their loves and souls in one another;
> They sprang together, and they bore one fruit;
> One joy did make them smile, and one grief mourn.*

Almost before they could perfectly speak, they began to receive conceits not unworthy of the best speakers, excellent devices being used to make even their sports profitable, images of battails and fortifications being then delivered to their memorie, which, after their stronger judgments might dispense, the delight of tales being converted to the knowledge of all the stories of all worthy princes, both to move them to do nobly, and teach them how to do nobly, the beauty of virtue still being set before their eyes, and that taught them with far more diligent care than grammatical rules; their bodies exercised in all abilities both of doing and suffering, and their minds acquainted by degrees with dangers, and, in sum, all bent to the making up of princely minds; no servile fear used towards them, nor any other violent restraint, but still as to princes, so that a habit of commanding was naturalized in them, and therefore the further from tyranny. Nature having done so much for them in nothing as that it made them lords of truth, whereon all other goods were builded.

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* Beaumont and Fletcher's *Elder Brother*.

Thus disciplined in virtue and united in love, the mother of Musidorus surrendering her affection to the good of her children, dismissed them with many tears to make trial of their worth in the army of Euarchus, the father of Pyrocles, who having conquered Pannonia and Thrace, was next laying siege to Byzantium. They went by sea: the ocean received them with so smooth and smiling a face, as 'though Neptune had then learned falsely to smile on princes.' The winds were temperately liberal, and their ships all kept close together like a beautiful flock which could well obey their master's pipe; but the next morning the sun rose veiled with clouds, which soon, like 'ink poured upon water,' blackened all the face of heaven. In the tempest which ensued the fleet was scattered, and the vessel of the princes shivered on a rock: the two friends grasped the same rib of the ship amid the tossing of the waves. One attempted to aid the other to a surer hold, his remaining hand was torn away by a wave, and the friends were parted, and the noise of the sea drowned their farewell. They were, however, cast on the shore of Phrygia, apart from each other. One fell into the power of the cruel 'King of Phrygia,' and was about to be put to death, when the other came to his aid and deliverance. The young heroes perform miracles of perilous adventure, deliver countries from cruel monsters and giants, and still more cruel men. Having determined to see all they can of the world, and 'to employ all those gifts esteemed rare in them to the good of mankinde, thinking it not so worthy to be brought to heroical effects by fortune or necessity (like Ulysses and Æneas), as by one's own device and working.' In this way they go through Pontus and Galatia; in which latter kingdom, in a desolate tract, in the depth of winter, and in the foulest of storms, they meet with the blind and grey-haired King of Paphlagonia, the prototype of Shakespeare's Gloster and Lear, who is endeavouring to persuade his good son, whom he despised, to lead him to some place from which he may cast himself down and end the sorrows and blindness which his unjustly preferred and cruel son, Plexirtus, has inflicted on him. After putting an end to the wrongful power of Plexirtus, they go to redress the injuries of Erona, Queen of Lydia, who, though a princess of nineteen, had incurred the anger of Cupid by endeavouring to destroy his worship, overthrowing his altars, and defacing his statues. The angry god was roused to revenge himself upon her and her kingdom: he smote one Tiridates, King of Armenia, with a terrible passion for the young queen; he displayed his love by making war upon her, and sparing neither man, woman, nor child, 'writing, as it were, the sonnets of his love in the blood, and

tuning them in the cries of her subjects.' The materials of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Cupid's Revenge* are taken from this part of the story, to which Bacha, the unchaste woman, and the woes of Prince Plangus have also contributed. The tale of Lady Zelmane following Pyrocles, dressed as a page, dying in his service, had some share, doubtless, in producing the Violas, Julias, Bellarios, and Uranias in which our elder dramatists so delighted. After many other adventures, Pyrocles and Musidorus sailed from the shore of Asia for Greece; but the crew of their ship being, by a treacherous king, engaged to murder them, assaulted the two friends in the middle of the voyage. While defending themselves, a fire broke out in the vessel, which made a diversion in their favour; and after further perils by sea and of pirates, they both got to land separately, each ignorant of the fate of the other.

It is at this point that the story of Sidney opens; all the former part comes, in true epical fashion, by way of episode. Some shepherds of Arcadia, having come down to the coast of Laconia, saw Musidorus struggling in the waves: they assisted him, conducted him through Laconia into Arcadia, to the house of Kalander, a nobleman of that country.

Musidorus was much struck with Arcadia and its inhabitants as he passed through it, after traversing the poor and hard soil of Laconia. The hills had their proud heights garnished with stately trees; the humble valleys had their bare estate comforted with the refreshing of silver rivers; the brooks glided slowly along as though loth to leave such perfect nature, and lamented with sweet murmur their forced departure; the meadows were enamelled with all sorts of flowers; the fields, garnished with roses, made the earth blush as bashful at its own beauty; the pleasant shade of the thickets was entranced by the well-tuned birds; each pasture was stored with sheep feeding with sober security, while the pretty lambs, with bleating oratory,* craved the dam's comfort. Here a shepherd boy, piping as though he should never be old; there a young shepherdess knitting and withal singing, and it seemed that her voice comforted her hands to work, and her hands kept time to her voice's music. Everywhere signs of peace and good husbandry. The very shepherds were superior to all other shepherds; they owned their own sheep, and in tending them they passed a life of ease, which is

* Hazlitt, in his strictures on the *Arcadia*, condemns this expression (bleating oratory), as well as many others; but he was not sensible to the very gentle poetical spirit of humour which runs through the *Arcadia*—meet for the ear of a lady. To enjoy which one must imagine Sidney reading to the Countess of Pembroke.

the nurse of poetry, and consequently the rural muse befriended them with constant and equable inspiration.

Kalander, the Arcadian noble, received Musidorus with all the hospitality usual in this highly-favoured country, and was delighted to have with him a mind of such excellent composition, a piercing wit void of ostentation, high-erected thoughts, seated in a heart of courtesy, an eloquence as sweet in uttering as slow to come to the uttering, a behaviour so noble as gave a majesty to adversity, and all in a man who could not be above one-and-twenty years. The good old man warmed with a fatherly love towards his guest, or rather became his servant by the bonds such virtue laid upon him. Kalander in the course of his entertainment told him all the strange story of Basilius, the King of Arcadia, who, in consequence of an oracle, had given over the government to a deputy, and had buried himself with his wife and two peerless daughters, the stately Pamela and the sweet Philoclea, in the country with no society or attendants but that of a clown and his wife and daughter. He intended that Pamela and Philoclea should never have any husband, and lived in strict seclusion, allowing nobody to visit him.

Although Musidorus listened intently, Kalander excused himself for the length of this tale, and laid the fault of it on his old age, which, by the very disposition of it, is talkative. 'Whether it be,' said he, smiling, 'that nature lives to exercise that part most which is least decayed, which is our tongue, or that knowledge being the only thing whereof we poor old men can brag, we cannot make it known but by utterance.'

Shortly after this, Musidorus, in an expedition against some revolted Helots, in company with Kalander, discovered his friend Pyrocles, who, having been captured by pirates, was compelled to become leader of the insurgents. The quarrel of the Helots was composed, and the two friends returned to the house of Kalander. There Pyrocles learnt also the strange story of Basilius and his daughters Pamela and Philoclea. Pyrocles saw a picture of Philoclea, and examining it, became silent and unsociable, and so given over to solitary musings, that his friend Musidorus reproached him with his love of solitude; and many fine speeches passed between the friends, the one sounding the praises of contemplation, the other of action and society. Shortly after Pyrocles, carried away by the vehemence of his concealed passion, disappeared; and Musidorus, knowing nothing of his friend Pyrocles' secret agitations, went in search of him; and after many strange sights and strange adventures, came upon his friend Pyrocles, who, as everybody but Musidorus would expect, had invaded

the seclusion of Basilius; and there in the disguise of an amazon—a very pretty amazon, in a doublet of sky-coloured satin covered with plates of gold, as it were, nailed with precious stones, that she might seem armed, in a short nether garment, with feet in crimson velvet buskins, open in some places (as the ancient manner was), to show the fairness of the skin, and a sword by her side—he had introduced himself under the name of Zelmane to the society of the timid and fair Philoclea. The sensations of Philoclea at this juncture were indescribable; she felt there was something wrong, she knew not what,—like a young fawn who, coming into the wind of the hunters, does not know whether it is a thing to be eschewed or no. The strong spirit of Musidorus was indignant to see his friend travestied in this shameful fashion; he again reproached him with much acerbity, and uttered many bitter and Cato-like speeches against the female sex in general and the idleness and baseness of love. To which Pyrocles, being moved, retorted in the style of Agathon or Diotima: 'If we are to love virtue,' asks Pyrocles, 'in whom shall we love it but in a virtuous creature? without your meaning be that I should love this word *virtue* when I see it written in a book. Those troublesome effects you say it breeds, be not the faults of love but of him that loves, as an unable vessel to bear such a liquor, like evil eyes not able to look on the sun, or like a weak brain, soonest overthrown with the best wine.'

The stern Musidorus, we regret to say, was always worsted in these encounters, and the triumph of Pyrocles was shortly proved by something stronger than logic, for he placed Musidorus *en cachette* to see Pamela and Philoclea sitting down angling by a little river, and making pretty wagers which could the sooner beguile silly fishes; while the false amazon, standing by with an idle rod, protested that the fit prey for them was the hearts of princes. A few days after this Pyrocles came upon a brave young shepherd wearing his rustic apparel, and bearing his sheephook with a most distinguished grace; the young man thinking himself alone, went along in most languishing pace, sometimes casting his eyes up to heaven, as though his fancies strove to mount higher; sometimes throwing them down to the ground, as though the earth could not bear the burden of his sorrows, singing verses to a most lamentable tune, and striking himself abundantly on the breast. Pyrocles was astonished to find this unfortunate individual to be his dear friend and censor Musidorus. Cupid had been a more inexorable logician than Pyrocles, and Musidorus subjectively had a taste of all these pangs, discom-

forts, and fears, which he had objectively described with such perfection and causticity in his virtuous reproof to Pyrocles. He was of course in love with Pamela, and had chosen the disguise of a shepherd in order to remain without suspicion in the strictly guarded precincts of her father King Basilius.

We have brought the principal characters on the stage; on which there follow in succession, jousts, tournaments, and hunting parties; battles, sieges, riots, outbreaks, and disorders. The machinations of the ambitious and revengeful Cecropia, sister-in-law of the king—the abduction and cruel treatment of Pamela and Philoclea by their aunt—the unhappy passion of their cousin Amphialus—the poisoning of the king—the trial of his wife and daughters, with their lovers—the peril of the accused—the resuscitation of the supposed victim,—all bring the romance to the desired termination, the felicity of the good, and the overthrow of the bad.

No part of the story was printed in Sidney's lifetime: the first two books and a portion of the third are all that was in any manner completed by himself; the rest was collected from his scattered papers by his sister and friends. Sidney himself, at his death, wished the whole to be burnt. Fulke Greville said,—

> All could truly confess that *Arcadia* of his to be in form and matter as inferior to that unbounded spirit as the industry and images of other men's wishes are many times raised above the writers' capacities. But the truth is, his end was not writing while he wrote, but both his wit and understanding leant upon his heart to make himself and others, not in words and opinion, but in life and action, good and great.

Ben Jonson told Drummond that he knew Sir Philip Sidney meant entirely to transform the *Arcadia* into an English romance, with King Arthur for its hero; so we must view these remains of Sidney rather as a fragmentary suggestion of what he might have done than as an actual performance.

Had he lived to perfect it, to turn 'precepts of philosophy into pregnant images of life,' to embody in it the matured results of his observations on men and governments, and public and private virtues and duties—had he retrenched its prolixities and toned down its improbabilities,—the *Arcadia* would, doubtless, have been a book for all times and all countries. As it is, the first part, which afforded the least scope for his genius, is the best written, because the most finished by him. The story is woven together with too great art, and is so complex that the mind has great difficulty in

catching up all the threads of the story, more especially when the two heroes of the tale are, like Mrs. Malaprop's Cerberus, three gentlemen at once, for they make use of three different names, and slip them off and on with perplexing rapidity; and as there is hardly one proper name, however strange, among the very large number introduced into the book, which has not in some way to do with the story, we should find our way through the labyrinth of the 400 folio pages more easily if a biographical dictionary were at hand of all the inhabitants of this strange land. Stories are dovetailed on to stories, and the names of the personages are so similar, that the reader finds himself far more bewildered than in Ariosto.

And we must regret altogether that Sidney preferred to place the scene of his story in some cloud-cuckoo land, inhabited by knights and ladies, whose manners are taken from chivalry, whose talk is platonic, and whose religion pagan. Why did he not lay the scene in the 'merrye England' of his own time, and give us the flesh-and-blood men and women of the court, and the rustic life of the country of Elizabeth? When all the nobler impulses of chivalry yet survived, and the courtesy, gaiety, and generosity of knightly manners were refined and heightened by the accomplishments of literature and art; when country life was constantly varied with its festivals and antique usages, and was vigorous, hearty, and joyous; when the masques and revels were still frequent in the old halls, hung with pikes, and helmets, and armour, whose chimneys were still 'windpipes of old hospitalitie;' when the wassail bowl and Christmas cheer, and the holly, mistletoe, and rosemary and bays were only supplanted by the box at Candlemas; when the roasted crabs still hissed in the bowl; when the thrashing of the hen afforded laughter and appetite for the pancakes at Shrovetide; when the bravest shows celebrated the deliverance from the Danes on Hocke Tuesday; the yeomen, alas! had almost disappeared, as Latimer long before complained, before graziers, farmers, and merchants; but the joyous old traditions were still celebrated, and some thirty or forty pair of oxen, with their horns crowned with flowers, preceded by the village girls in blue kirtles, and crowned with violets and cowslips, brought the maypole to its place on the village green, around which they danced in company with Robin Hood, Maid Marian, and Little John to the sound of the pipe and tabor; and the Puritans had not even succeeded in banishing the hobby-horse from the festival. Besides this, as old Chaucer says—

All was this land fulfilled of faerie
The elf queene, with her joly companie,
Dancèd full oft in many a greenè mede.

Good and bad spirits were everywhere. The passing bell frighted the bad ones away from the pillow of death. The curfew told them when to walk abroad. Every one had his good or bad angel—the tester in the shoe of the good housewife, and the arm of the slut, pinched black and blue, betokened the constant companionship of the span-long elves that met about the pools,—

By pavèd fountain, and by rushy brooke,
Or on the beachèd margent of the sea,
To dance their ringlets to the whistling wind.
Then in the stocks of trees white faies did dwell,

little creatures who hid themselves in acorn cups, slept in the bells of the cowslip, and fled abroad in the moonlight on the back of the bat.

Da der Dichtung zauberische Hülle
Sich noch lieblich um die Wahrheit wand,
Durch die Schöpfung floss die Lebensfülle
Und was nie empfinden wird, empfand.*

Prospero had not yet broken and burned his staff, or drowned his book deeper than did ever plummet sound; every village still had its black and midnight hags, withered and wild in their attire,—

Who looked not like the inhabitants of the earth,—

the clang of whose magic caldron and incantations was heard amid the intervals of the nightly thunderstorm; who with a look could kill man or beast, raise hail, rain, and tempest; and who could also, as an old writer says, 'bring to pass that, churn as long as you list, your butter would not come, especially if the maids had eaten of the creame, or the good wife had sold the butter before in the market.'

That Sidney was equal to the task of writing a romance which should have been the very mirror of his time, he has fully shown in his *Arcadia*. Few sides, even of the humblest details of life, escaped his notice, and what humour he could have thrown into his sketches of clowns and rustics, he has shown in his characters of Damætas, with his head always full of wine-presses in repair and loads of hay, and Mopsa, the attendant on the heroines, who made such a noise sometimes while the long stories of the others were going on,

* Schiller, *Die Götter Griechenlands.*

that nobody could lay the stealing of a nap to her charge,—upon whom he has sometimes placed touches of quite Shakesperian truth. Witness Mopsa's tale, which is very humorous after the high-flown romances of Pamela and Musidorus, about how the mighty king of a great country had the fairest daughter that did ever eat pap, and how she, while combing her hair one day with a comb of precious stones, saw a knight come into the court upon a goodly horse, one hair of gold and one of silver; and how they stole away one morning out of the castle, without staying so much as for their breakfast;—every sentence beginning either with *and so*, or *now forsooth*, or *so then*.

To give a somewhat more complete notion of the *Arcadia*, we will not part from it without giving entire one or two of the beautiful passages in which it abounds. The following description of a horse and rider in tilting at the ring, from so accomplished a horseman as Sir Philip, who had 'learnt his horsemanship at the Emperor's court, under John Pietro Pagliano,' has high interest. Pamela is describing Musidorus on horseback:—

You might see him come towards me, beating the ground in so due time as no dancer can observe better measure. If you remember the ship we saw once, when the sea went high on the coast of Argos,* so went the beast. But he (as if, Centaur-like, he had been one piece with the horse) was no more moved than with the going of his own legs; and in effect did he so command him as his own limbs, for though he had both spurres and wand, they seemed rather marks of sovereignty than instruments of punishment, his hand and leg (with most pleasing grace) commanding without threatening, and rather remembering than chastising; at least, if sometimes he did, it was so stolen as neither our eyes could discern it, nor the horse with any change complain of it; he ever going so just with the horse, either forthright or turning, that it seemed as he borrowed the horse's bodie so he lent the horse his mind; in the turning one might perceive the bridle hand something gentle stir, but indeed so gently, as it did rather distil virtue than use violence . . . . . and (when he would take the ring) the shifting his staff from his thigh, the descending it a little down, the getting of it up into the rest, the letting of the point fall, and taking the ring, was but all one motion, at least (if they were divers motions) they did so stealingly slippe one into another, as the latter part was ever in hand before the eye could discern the former was ended.

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* Beaumont and Fletcher have made use of this image,

'To feel our horses like proud seas under us;'

which Byron, perhaps, has improved on—

'The waves bound beneath me as a steed
Which knows his rider.'

The bathing of the princesses in the river Ladon has some pretty details:—

Philoclea tenderly moving her feet, unwonted to feel the naked ground, till the touch of the cold water made a pretty kind of shrugging come over her bodie like the twinkling of the fairest among the fixed stars. Ladon would fain stay to have a full taste of his happiness, but the upper streams made such haste to have their part of the embracing, that the neather (though lothly) must needs give place to them. . . .

And as the ladies played there in the water, sometimes striking it with their hands, the water (making lines on his face) seemed to smile at such beating, and, with twenty bubbles, not to be content to have the picture of their face in large upon him, but he would in each of those bubbles set forth the miniature of them.

A water-spaniel, in getting out of the river, shook off the water, 'as great men do their friends, now he had no further cause to use it:'—

Philoclea, when Pyrocles declares himself, became sick with a surfeit of joy, and fearful of she knew not what, as he that newly finds large treasures doubts whether he sleep or no, or like a fearful deer who then looks most about when he comes to the best feed.

But with all our admiration for Sidney's romance and the scattered beauties which adorn it, it must be confessed that it is tedious. Those who read it attentively will not fail to be charmed with its romantic spirit, gentle feeling, and fine sensibility; but the characters are too many, the stories too much spun out; there is too much absence of reality, too little keeping, too little simplicity in the narrative; the main current of interest is at times scattered too broadly and flows too slowly for it ever again to become popular. It was popular at a time when the literature of English growth was scanty, and when, too, readers possessed far more patience than they do now, accustomed, as they were, to read ponderous folios, and living, as they did, so near the times of manuscript and black letter, when reading was a *labor improbus* indeed. It is a fact not sufficiently dwelt on, that the facility and rapidity with which modern type can be read has destroyed in great measure that dogged pertinacity which enabled readers of old to fight their way through tough and crabbed folios. Advocates for unpopular books as well as unpopular reputations will always be found, but we fear Sidney, though he may often be found on the shelf, will not so often be found in the hands of any reader who is not a more than ordinary student of literature and literary history.

The *Defense of Poesie*, that 'ink-wasting toy' of his, as Sidney calls it, has usually been criticised in too serious a manner. It is a half-sportive, half-serious effusion, replete with

the gentlest touches of humour. We are surprised that judicious critics have found it too declamatory. The commencing story about John Pietro Pagliano, and Sidney being saved by logic alone from wishing himself to be a horse, strikes the key-note of the whole. What humour there is, too, in the allusion to Zopyras, where he is arguing that fiction is better than history, 'because you may save your nose by the bargain.' The essay does not by any means attempt to go so profoundly into the question as Shelley in his beautifully written *Defence of Poetry*, which analyses the very inner essence of poetry and the reason of its existence,—its development from, and operation on, the mind of man, and gives us such an ethereal and beautiful disquisition on the subject as none but the poet of poets could produce. It has many very choice expressions, as when he speaks of the poet as 'not limited to nature, but ranging freely within the zodiack of his own wit.' The termination is charmingly pleasant:—

> But if (fie of such a But) you be born so near the dull-making cataract of Nilus, that you cannot hear the planet-like musicke of poetry, if you have so earth-creeping a mind that it cannot lift itself up to look to the skies of poetry, then will I not wish to you the asses' ears of Midas, nor to be driven by a poet's verses as Bubonax was to hang himself, nor to be rhymed to death as is said to be done in Ireland, yet thus much curse I must send you in behalf of all poets, that while you live you live in love, and never get favor for lacking skill of a sonnet, and when you die your memorie die from the earth for want of an epitaph.

This *Defense* forms an important document in our literary history. England had need then of a defence of poetry. Sidney said she was a very step-mother of poets, and little suspected the great burst of poetic genius which was at hand. Chaucer, 'that well of English undefiled,' was the only great poet whom Sidney really admired, and lamented 'that wee, in this clear age, go so stumblingly after him.' The Earl of Surrey for his sonnets, and Sackville for his powerfully written and lugubrious *Induction*, and his bombastic *Gorboduc*, were the only poets Sidney could bring forward against the bards of Italy and Spain. France, with Ronsard, Bellay, and Du Bartas, seemed to promise a richer harvest of poetic fame.

In poetry Sidney unfortunately was a convert to Harvey's mania for introducing the ancient metres into the English language. Still he has written enough of genuine rhyme to show that—

> In his gentle sprite
> The pure well head of poetry did dwell.

He stands at the entrance of the great literary epoch—a befitting herald of the long line of inspired writers who came

after him. An attentive reader of Dante and Petrarch, the strains inspired by Beatrice and Laura found responsive chords in his own gentle nature, and the sonnets of Sir Philip Sidney breathe all that fine sensibility and immaterial passion which was one of the choicest bequests of chivalry and Provençal culture—which has raised the passion of the sexes from a mere sensual caprice to a religion of the soul—and which, as embodied in modern poetry, would be alone sufficient to prove the spiritual superiority of modern civilization over the time when the Roman lyrist sent for Pyrrha or Neæra over his cups, and the shriek of the fife was heard before the door of Barine in the Saburra. Sidney is not so much an imitator of the Italians as Surrey or Wyatt, he trusted more to the impulses of his own fine emotions. He tells us himself that he turned over the leaves of poets—

> To see if thence would flow
> Some fresh and fruitful shower upon my sun-burnt braine.

But that he in vain attempted to follow in the track of others :—

> Fool, said my Muse to me, look in thy heart and write.

In another place he says :—

> And Love doth hold my hand and make me write.

Nevertheless, there are frequent instances of that false wit, those unmeaning antitheses and plays upon words which, when Petrarch was popular among the students of Europe, passed, in the absence of sure taste, for the very pearls of poetry, and which even disfigure the best of the *Tre Sorelle.* The following is an example of this fantastic refinement of expression :—

> Not thou by praise, but praise in thee is raised,
> It is a praise to praise, when thou art praised.

Moreover, the language of poetry was not then sufficiently formed to prevent the introduction of words associated with low and common ideas, and which sometimes spoil the most effective passages,—nevertheless there are several sonnets, which might have been written by Shakespeare himself, and which open especially in the grand Shakesperian manner; Witness these two commencements, and the two sonnets which follow :—

> With how sad steps, O moon, thou climb'st the skies !
> How silently and with how wan a face !

> Come sleepe, oh sleep the certain knot of peace,
> The bayting place of art, the balme of woe,
> The poor man's wealth, the prisoner's release,
> Th' indifferent Judge between the high and low.

When far-spent night persuades each mortal eye,
To whom nor art nor nature granteth light,
To lay there their mark—wanting shafts of sight,
Clos'd with their quivers in sleep's armoury ;
With windows ope, then, most my mind doth lie,
Viewing the shape of darknesse and delight,
Takes in that sad hue which with th' inward night
Of his mazde powers keepes perfect harmonie.
But when birds charme, and that sweet ayre which is
Morn's messenger, with *rose-enamel'd* skies,
Calls each wight to salute the hour of bliss,
In tombe of lids then buried are mine eyes,
Forc'd by their Lord, who is asham'd to find
Such light in sense with such a darken'd mind.

Morpheus, the lively son of deadly Sleep,
Witness of life to them that living die,*
A prophet oft, and oft an historie.
A poet eke, as humours flie or creepe,
Since thou in me so sure a power dost keep,
That never I with clos'd up sense do lye,
But by thy work my Stella I descrie,
Teaching blind eyes both how to smile and weep,
Vouchsafe of all acquaintance this to tell
Whence hast thou ivorie, rubies, pearl, and gold,
To shew her skin, lips, teeth, and head so well ?
Fool! answers he, no Indes such treasures hold,
But from thy heart, while my fire chaseneth thee,
Sweet Stella's image I do steale to me.†

It may seem indeed to some, after an examination into the life and writings of Sidney, that the reputation which has made his name a household word in England exceeds his merits. It is true England has had greater soldiers and greater statesmen, but never so choice a union of the qualities which made a Sidney, Sir Philip Sidney's fame is founded precisely on those personal qualities of which his contemporaries were the best judge, which do not leave a trace in books or history. It was love, affection, adoration, which he inspired, and these are the conquest not of the head but of the heart. Nature had endowed him with goodness, grace, and beauty, and by the assiduous culture and constant practice of virtue he became as fair in mind as in form. Had Sidney been the slayer of some half-a-million of Spaniards or Frenchmen—had he possessed the cold heart of a conqueror—or had

* The lines ascribed to Thomas Warton may be suggested by these—
Sic sine vitâ
Vivere, quam suave est, sic sine morte mori.

† *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnets xxxi. xxxii. xxxix. xlix.

he, by unwearied courtier-art and all the tricks of statesmanship, supplanted the selfish and solid Burleigh,—he would not have been more admired in his own or in after time. Human nature and society is so happily constituted, that the practice of those virtues which made Sidney, and which are the most conducive to human happiness, and which, after all, are felt to be the most estimable, are in the power of everybody. Greediness, whether of fame or riches, rapacity, low cunning, a careful calculation of how much vice may be made to appear as virtue, aided by pertinacity and arrogance, may raise a man above his superiors in intellect and virtue, place him in the chiefest seats of ambition, and excite a great deal of vulgar admiration; yet in private life they can only make extremely disagreeable persons. But fortunately the demand for great men is remarkably small in the economy of Providence, and except in the case of leaders, like William of Orange of Sidney's time, whom nature had stamped and set apart for an especial service, the qualities by which they ordinarily succeed are not such that the world is benefited by a near contemplation of their lives, and a knowledge of their springs of action. It is well, then, that we have one reputation at least, like Sidney's, universal and uncontested, founded on the simple practice of those courtesies, humanities, and virtues, which are in everybody's power, which beautify and sanctify human life, and constitute the ideal of the modern gentleman, which do not flourish upon the lofty and frozen heights of grandeur and haughty self-consciousness, but which may adorn and fertilize with gentle luxuriance the lowliest glades of human existence. The Sidney whom we admire is the—

> Sidney as he fought
> And as he fell, and as he loved and lived,
> Sublimely mild, a spirit without spot.*

To use his own expression, 'a right manlike man, such as nature, often erring, yet shows sometimes she would fain make.' Sidney's life, indeed, goes near to prove that famous saying of the Athenian sage, that if Virtue could be seen, all men would adore her. Envy herself was charmed in his presence, and became a worshipper. His whole person was radiant with worth, purity, and unassuming dignity. He was soft, gentle, compassionate, forgiving as a woman, and yet had all the dignity and valour of a man; he had the soul and lofty aspirations of a poet; the chivalrous nobleness of a paladin; and the spotless purity and devotion of a true soldier of the Cross. His large heart was a sanctuary of the highest and noblest thoughts

* Shelley's *Adonais.*

of his age, and ever vibrated to the ethereal music of the sweetest and purest emotions. 'No man lived who could say he did him harm.' His liberality was so great, that with him not to give was not to enjoy what he had. In his familiarity with men he never descended, but raised everybody to his own level; the great felt not their greatness nor the obscure their obscurity in his society; so modest and inaccessible to flattery, that 'he esteemed praise an encouragement to future well-doing, and no payment for the past.' Without dissimulation, incapable of disguise or artifice, his heart was as open as his hand. His tongue knew no deceit, and his guileless mind no policy but frankness, courage and sincerity, and his spirit ascended to the throne of God, in its spotless purity, without a trace of its journeying amid the mire and mould of earthly passions and desires. No wonder that his name has become a talisman in his country—that we can look on his noble life like a summer day in the midst of winter, and find in it, as in a noble poem, a fountain of ever-healing water :—

κάλλιστον ἦμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος
ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος.

No appreciation, however, of his life would be complete without hearing Spenser lament for a moment over his deceased friend :—

Most gentle spirit, breathèd from above,
Out of the bosom of his Maker's bliss,
In whom all bounty and all vertuous love
Appearèd in their native properties,
And did enrich that noble heart of his
With treasure passing all this worldès worth,
Worthy of heaven itself, which brought it forth.

His blessed spirit, full of power divine
And influence of all celestial grace,
Loathing this sinfull earth and earthly slime,
Fled back too soon unto his native place;
Too soon for all that did his love embrace;
Too soon for all this wretched world, whom he
Rob'd of all right and true nobility.*

Let us not, however, lament that the life of Sidney was not complete. There should not be a shadow of gloom in aught that reminds of him: he is one of the spotless heirs of unfulfilled renown; and such are always dear to posterity who drink delight in the very sorrow that crowns their memory :—

ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νεός.

* Spenser's *Ruins of Time*, 280.

> The good die first,
> Then those whose hearts are dry as summer dust
> Burn to the socket.

Even Sidney's good and noble-hearted old friend Languet, who had experience enough of courts and men, warned him to be on his guard against the advance of age and its frigid caution and affected virtues; to examine carefully every new feeling before admitting it into his bosom; to be jealously watchful of the selfish and creeping maxims which, under the guise of duty and necessity, slip like serpents into the heart. He said it was rare that men grew better by being older. We doubt not that Sidney would have withstood the trial, but at all events he was spared it—his heart did not grow cold nor his head grey in vain. On Languet, too, the practised old diplomatist, the conviction gradually stole, that Sidney's nature was too bright and too good for the daily intercourse of court and camp. The character Spenser gives of Sidney, as the honest courtier, shows how out of place he was at court, how unfit he was—

> To lose good days that might be better spent,
> To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
> To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
> To feed on hope, and pine with fear and sorrow.*

So Sidney, happily for him and for us, was taken away in the fulness of youth and beauty, and uttered in his mortal agony the sublimest words to which human lips have given utterance, which are the essence of all Christian doctrine and philosophy, the symbol and sum of meaning of his earthly existence, germs pregnant with immortal fertility, and an aureole of glory about the head of the dying poet and soldier. We may say, indeed, with Tacitus, that whatever was admirable in him, and to be loved, cannot perish from the minds of men or the book of time: and, moreover, that his earthly career, closing where it did, leaves him before posterity clothed, like the Apollo Belvidere, in unfading youth; that those divine words of his show him in the same victor attitude and serene glory launching a deadly shaft at the Pythian dragon of selfishness, which yet in no small measure holds the world in its coils.

W. S.

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* *Mother Hubberde's Tale.*

THE ANCIENT BASHAN AND THE CITIES OF OG.

IT has long been a matter of dispute among ethnologists whether or not all the countries of the earth have been peopled by the descendants of those few persons who escaped in so marvellous a manner the general destruction at the time of the Deluge.

Without entering here into such considerations as these—whether the Deluge was universal, or only affected a certain portion of the earth's surface—or whether there was only one creation of man, or a plurality of creations of men—or whether the words Shem, Ham, and Japheth really represented persons, or some idea only,—we shall at once commence by tracing the migrations of the human race, on the supposition that the account given in the Book of Genesis of the different persons and tribes, and of the respective localities of these tribes, is correct; and from the first we wish to state that we ourselves place the most unqualified reliance in the relations given in the early chapters of Genesis of the history of the colonization of the Earth; and we equally believe in the accuracy and authenticity of the many names given in the early genealogies.

We are well aware how few ethnologists at the present day will assent to this: it is the fashion now to throw much doubt on these names. Many believe them to be names adapted by the Jews from some vague traditions, in order to account in a plausible manner for their descent, and for the works which existed of an old people before them; and in this way they occupy very much the same place in Jewish history that such names as Romulus and Remus do in Roman history. Others go even farther, and look upon the whole as a complete fabrication, or at best as an ingenious species of Jewish mythology. But we believe, on many grounds, that most of

these names are not only accurate, but are really the names of men, or of tribes of men, who once existed. There are difficulties, no doubt; but it is our conviction that, as in the case of the geography of these countries, so in the case of the proper names of men, each addition to our information, every new light thrown upon the history of these lands, will tend to show that every name has its meaning, and is of real value. How strongly has this been illustrated in the names of places! Before the present century—with the exception of the larger and more noted towns—scarcely a site was known in Palestine. Those long lists of places which we read in the Old Testament might have been equally deemed collections of fabulous names coined for the purpose of giving the appearance of additional accuracy to the narrative.

Shunem and Jezreel might have been placed near together, with Endor not far off, to tell with more point the story of Saul on the eve of the battle with the Philistines. Recent research has shown that even now a Shunem is standing half-an-hour from a Jezreel, and an Endor exists at a distance of three hours' walk from either. Who after this can help reading the story of Saul with additional interest? And what we have said of the identification of old places in the case of Shunem, Jezreel, and Endor, is so constantly recurring with regard to other sites mentioned in the Old Testament, that all researches made in the present day in Palestine, lead us more and more to see with what scrupulous accuracy, even in the matter of some small point connected with the topography of the country, the sacred historian has written his narrative.

It may be urged that what we say with regard to the accuracy of the names of places, does not apply to the names of people; that although a chronicler might invent a long genealogy in order to deduce a descent from some mythical personage, yet he would hardly venture to invent names of localities, since in these the truth of his account might immediately be brought to the test.

But we think that those who would invent names in the one case, would invent them in the other; since, in aftertimes, if no spot could be found bearing the name mentioned, this answer could always be given—that the name had changed. Nor would this be deemed unsatisfactory; on the contrary, it appears at first sight striking that the same names should still be preserved, and our impression on finding them is that we have the strongest confirmation possible of the truth of the Old Testament history.

It is with the especial desire and hope of throwing light on some of the earlier and less studied portions of Scripture, that

we have undertaken to write this Essay. We do not pretend to greater learning in the Scriptures, or to a more profound knowledge of them than other persons, but we have had the advantage of travelling in the lands, and of beholding many of the scenes described in the sacred writings, and have enjoyed the privilege of being able to devote more time to the careful examination of these countries than most modern travellers; and thus many points connected with topography which would necessarily escape the reader who is personally unacquainted with the country, have become of deep interest to us. Indeed it is not too much to say, that to the student of the geography of the Holy Land, every single name has a new and real interest; and even those long chapters of names which are so wearisome to the general reader, are studied with delight.

Before visiting these countries we never could have conceived what numerous and powerful testimonies would each day be forthcoming to the truth of the Scriptures. Compare the country, the people, their language, their customs, carefully with the history of the country and its people three thousand years ago, and at every page such proofs, internal and external, are laid before us of the integrity of the account, that we can require no stronger vouchers for the truth of the sacred writings.*

We shall devote the following pages chiefly to the description of the country east of Jordan, which was originally peopled by that remarkable race the Rephaim. We shall trace as far as we are able, by collecting the different notices we have of them in the Old Testament, their history and the history of their country; we shall tell of the cities which they built, and which were subsequently taken by the Israelites from their king Og; and we shall tell how in the present day large towns and cities of stone are still standing, many of them so perfect that they might again be inhabited in that very country, and which answer exactly to the account given of the cities of the Rephaim in the early Scriptures; and we shall, lastly, point out in how remarkable a manner the prophecy has been carried out with regard to the whole of that country, which was spoken two thousand five hundred years ago by Jeremiah.

We shall now commence by a short description of the

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* Perhaps it would be difficult to find any other case in which so many examples of *undesigned coincidences* are perpetually recurring, as in the comparison between different portions of Scripture with each other, and with the country, at the present day.

country in which the descendants of Noah were settled not long after the Flood, and from which those tribes came who peopled Palestine and the lands near it.

From the high mountain range in the south of Armenia, which forms a portion of the territory of Kurdistân, and from nearly the same part of the range, two great rivers take their rise. For some distance they make their way through rocky country; but as they approach the vast plain which lies to the south of the mountains of Kurdistân, and gradually escape from the wild rocks which fettered them, they appear as two broad streams; and as they penetrate farther into the plain, each making its way towards the same point, and each endeavouring, as it were, to rival the other in importance, they acquire so broad a bed, and compass so much land ere they reach the sea, that they are justly entitled to be placed among the great rivers of Asia.

Shortly before they actually reach the sea, their courses, which had been gradually approaching more and more to each other, actually become one. At one degree north of the Persian Gulf these two great rivers meet, and flow the remaining short distance together. The land between the sources of these rivers and their junction, is thus nearly an island, and may well be termed, as it has been termed from time immemorial, 'the land within the rivers,' or Mesopotamia.

The greater part of this land is a vast plain, interrupted now and then by slight undulations of the ground, and out of which a few solitary hills are seen to rise; but occasionally higher mountains, and even mountain ranges appear. The most remarkable of these is situated in the heart of Mesopotamia, and known by the name of Jebel Sinjar. From this range, and from most of these mountains, tributary streams flow down to the two great rivers. It was somewhere in Mesopotamia that our first parents originally dwelt, but the exact position of the 'Garden of Eden' has long been, and still is, much disputed. In the Mosaic account the names of four rivers are mentioned as watering the Garden; but of the four rivers we recognise only two, the Tigris and the Euphrates, while the remaining two, the Pishon and the Gihon, may have been smaller streams, which, taking their source from one of the hills, or chain of hills, which we before mentioned as arising out of the plain of Mesopotamia, flowed in a circuitous course until they met the great rivers.

Admitting this supposition to be the correct one, we may not despair of one day being really able to determine the exact position of Eden, as conceived by the writer of the Book of Genesis. Much of Mesopotamia remains unex-

plored, and many rivers may exist, and some do exist, of whose names we are ignorant or uncertain, and perhaps among these we may yet find the long-lost Gihon and the long-lost Pishon.

But some have not limited Paradise to so small a tract; they have extended it westwards to the Nile, and eastwards far into Persia.

If their conjectures be right, half of Western Asia was comprised within the limits of Eden, and Jerusalem and Tehran are alike standing within the bounds of ancient Paradise. For ourselves, we have always been inclined to believe in the first theory, because so many facts mentioned with regard to the physical geography of the Eden of Holy Scripture apply to the modern Mesopotamia, and although we cannot reconcile everything with the account given in the Book of Genesis, we can well be satisfied if many of the leading features agree; nor could we expect more than this, when we consider the great changes which that country must necessarily have undergone since the first commencement of the history of the human race.

It was again within this country that the descendants of Noah established themselves after the flood, and thus a second time Mesopotamia became the dwelling-place of all mankind. Their country they called the Land of Shinar, a name which is perhaps preserved in the form of Sinjar, which is applied to a chain of mountains in the interior of Mesopotamia.

This Land of Shinar was, without doubt, very fruitful, and only needed some cultivation to make it render a far greater supply than its population at that time needed. As the people increased more land would be cultivated, and many centuries might elapse ere they should be obliged to emigrate. The Almighty, foreseeing how long a time it would be in this manner before the different parts of the earth became peopled, perhaps warned certain of them, as He did in the case of Abram some centuries later, that they should leave the land they now occupied and go to another, which He promised to give them. It seems as if the people disregarded the Divine command, and disbelieved God's promises; but fearing at the same time that He might separate them by force, feeling convinced that He had the power to do so, yet doubting in the extent of his power, they determined to thwart, as they thought, any attempt He might make to scatter them abroad, and build a tower so high that from all parts, however distant, it might be visible, and thus, they imagined, a beacon would be raised which would always guide them back to their original country. That their great sin consisted in

disobeying the command of God seems the most probable view of the case, although the sacred historian does not mention such a command. As in some other instances in the Old Testament, a great sin had evidently been committed from the severe punishment which we see brought upon those who committed it, although in the sacred narrative, here and elsewhere, the full account only of the *punishment* is given.

At this time, according to the Mosaic narrative, all men spoke one language. They were permitted to make some progress in their work of building a tower, and then they learned in a remarkable way how utterly foolish they had been in supposing that they could oppose the will of God. Their speech became confounded, and different parties of them spoke different dialects.

The difference between these speeches may not have been very great, but quite sufficient to prevent them from understanding each other; and this, together with the awe which such a phenomenon must have occasioned, induced them to part, and perhaps now they hoped, by a tardy submission to his will, to appease the wrath of God.

Now, while they lived in Shinar, they must have gained some knowledge of the country westwards of the Euphrates. A people in their primitive state must have devoted themselves much to hunting, and in their hunting expeditions they frequently would be led some way from the river. They would then discover that, except in the rainy season, no water was to be found in all that broad plain, and that, excepting the fragrant shrubs which seem to have been providentially placed there to supply the camel with food during its passage across the Desert, not an herb grew there. To these people the Desert was indeed a vast sea, whose limits they knew not, and which they probably imagined to extend for ever in a westerly direction. It required the genius of a Columbus almost to surmise that, if a man were to continue in a westerly direction for a certain number of days, he would find mountains and springs, and rich land, and fruit trees and grass.

In all instances of emigration on a large scale people must be guided in a great measure by the geographical features of the country through which they have to pass. In no instance would a route be more clearly thus dependent upon the conformation of the country than in the present one. East of the Tigris and west of the Euphrates the whole land was desert, and, even to those well acquainted with the country, impassable, except in the winter months; so the course of the

rivers must necessarily have been the course likewise of these emigrants out of Shinar.

We may imagine them in their panic forming into parties and starting off in opposite directions; one party might go down the Euphrates to its junction with the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf; there, again, they would separate, some desiring to follow the eastern, others the western shore of the sea. Of these last portions of Arabia were peopled, and from them came those people who crossed the Straits of Bab-el-Mandab, and formed a settlement in Ethiopia; and thence, gradually working their way northwards, came into Egypt, and colonized the Valley of the Nile. These were of the descendants of Ham.

Another party might ascend the Tigris, and, gaining the mountains of Armenia, would thence stretch across Northern Asia to Europe.

Another party we will suppose to follow the Euphrates in the contrary direction to the course of the stream. Their journey would be long and wearisome; day by day the same objects, with little variation, presented themselves; now and then, indeed, a low hill on their right hand or on their left would break a little the monotony of the journey, by enticing some of the horsemen to ride across the plain to it in order to gain from the summit some farther knowledge of the country before them. Many a time would these messengers come back and report that, so far as the eye could reach, nothing but a waste could be descried.

Each day we may fancy our travellers becoming more dejected, and more anxious with regard to the future. When, at a sudden bend of the river, and far away to the south-west, several mountain tops appeared, in a moment all eyes were upon them, and a short time afterwards a small detachment might be seen leaving the caravan, and striding rapidly on their dromedaries towards these peaks. As they approached, the hills gradually appeared to rise, until at last, when very near them, they reached a spot which must indeed have rejoiced their hearts;—from under the mountains there suddenly bursts forth a full-grown river, which, after flowing nearly four miles, and making a fruitful garden in the Desert, again seeks the ground, and is never more seen. By its course grow many palms, which are alike welcome, on account of the refreshing shade which their fan-like branches throw, and for their fruit. This time, the report of the 'spies' no doubt induced many to quit the Euphrates, and form a settlement at the beautiful oasis; and there was laid the foundation of 'Tadmor in the Wilderness,' the lovely City of Palms. But only a small party

seems to have left the main body; by far the greater number continued their cruise onwards, more hopeful ever, until the high and snow-capped mountains of Lebanon stood majestically before them in the distance.

Even now some cautious few may have kept by the river, and followed it to the mountains of Kurdistân, and so founded a nation there. But the greater part were soon encamped in the rich land of northern Syria. As their number increased, they worked their way southwards, until nearly all the land west of Antilebanon, and west of Jordan, became peopled by them. All the mountains of Judea and the fine plains of Phœnicia, with the sea-coast, and the hilly country about Nazareth and the Vale of Cœlesyria, and the mountains of Lebanon became the possession of one great race, a branch of the descendants of Ham.

It seems that about the same time that this division of the children of Ham were following the Euphrates until they reached northern Syria and established themselves there, a more adventurous and daring party, likewise from the same race of Ham, determined upon exploring their way directly across the Desert, and taking advantage of the rainy season, when alone a large body of men with cattle could perform the journey. They set out, and directed their course westward. We have already described the monotonous and anxious journey of the other Hamitic wanderers, who followed the Euphrates; but these must have had a far more laborious and dangerous experience. Except at certain spots in this great plain, even in the time of the great rains, no water is to be found, or at least not sufficient water to supply a moving host. There were not only a large number of men and camels, but horses, and sheep, and goats; and these last require to drink very frequently. The camel, indeed, will go a very long time without requiring drink, and on such journeys he is the water-bearer of the caravan, and carries goat-skins, which are filled at every pool. It is usually where some rocky ground breaks in upon the otherwise smooth plain, that a considerable supply of water is to be found; and these spots are almost invariably near to, or actually under, some solitary hill, which seems placed there to serve two purposes—both for attracting clouds and thus causing more rain to fall on the rocky ground about it, and for pointing out from afar to the thirsty traveller where a refreshing draught is to be procured. After a long journey, they were indeed fully rewarded. They reached a land with which they must have been well satisfied. Their first resting-place was probably under a chain of hills east of the mountains of Bashan, and south-west of Tadmor. The chain rises from a

rocky region called Es-Safâh; and there, in the hollows of the rocks, abundance of water could be found. On exploring still farther westward, they would find the richer mountains of Bashan clad with forests of oak, and rich in springs, and shrubs, and grass. Soon they would extend their dominions, until at last this one race occupied the whole country east of Jordan, even from the Red Sea, on the south, to the river Pharpar. All the mountainous country east of the Dead Sea and of Jordan was peopled by them; and the plains, again, to the east of the mountains; and there some of the earliest cities were built of which we have any historical notice. Indeed, it was a country in many ways admirably adapted to a wild and uncivilized people. At certain intervals the soil, otherwise very rich, is strewed with innumerable masses of black stone; and in some parts a labyrinth of rocks rises up, in which the inhabitants could secure themselves against the attacks of any foe. These stones, too, were of great service to these people in building their houses and their cities.

And this enterprising people, whose journey we have now traced across the Desert were that noted division of the Hamites called the REPHAIM. We shall be much concerned with them in this Essay, and we only take leave of them for the present, to refer to the doings of those other tribes who now occupied the land to the west and to the north of them.

Now to all these early wanderers in search of a country there was one spot which, beyond all others, must have offered an irresistible temptation for them to settle; and happy were they whose lot it was to be the first to reach it. Under the high mountains of Antilebanon, and on the eastern side of the range is a piece of land, surrounded by two rivers, which, taking their rise from the mountains above it, go rushing into the plain; and there, breaking into numerous streamlets, so water and fructify the soil that the whole land enclosed between the rivers becomes one beautiful garden, so rich and so luxuriant, that it almost seems a realization of the brightest picture which the vivid imagination of a fanciful child ever made of the Garden of Eden.

Here in the earliest times the foundation of a great city was laid—a city which has subsisted through the many changes to which that land has been subjected, which was eminent under every rule, and which, after nearly forty centuries, still shows life, though a capital of the weakest and most degraded government which perhaps ever ruled any empire. It is likewise curious that this city, the oldest in the world, has always retained the same name. It was DIMESHK in Abraham's

time, it was DIMESHK in our Lord's time, it is DIMESHK now. As we have seen, the greater part of the land on the western side of the great Desert had passed into the hands of the descendants of Ham; but on the descendants of Shem fell the good fortune of having possession of that land on the east of Antilebanon, of which the rich portion of ground just mentioned forms a part. And there, between the two rivers, the Abana and the Pharpar, they built their capital, Damascus. We have already alluded to certain of the emigrants who, forsaking the Euphrates, reached an oasis, where they founded the city of Tadmor. When they became settled, they would soon explore the country around their new territory, and in following that chain of mountains, an offshoot from Antilebanon, which branches out into the Desert to near Tadmor, they would be directly led to the plains watered by the Abana and the Pharpar. So, we suppose, that the founders of Tadmor were a short time afterwards the founders of Damascus.

The number of the Shemites, compared with that of the Hamites, who first crossed to the western side of the great Desert, was probably small; perhaps one great tribe only were the original possessors of the land. Their new territory they named ARAM, in honour of their ancestor, one of the sons of Shem. Their western boundary was the chain of Antilebanon, and probably their territory extended northwards near to Homs, where the mountains gradually sink into the plain; and there also was the line of the territory of the Hamites, while eastwards it stretched far away, perhaps almost to Tadmor. Although one general name was given to the whole of this possession, yet certain portions had specific names to distinguish them. Thus, the rich portion about Damascus, encircled by the two rivers Abana and Pharpar, and reaching to the lakes in which these rivers are lost, was called *Aram Naharaim*, or 'Aram of the Two Rivers.' While the plains beyond were generally known by this term, *Padan Aram*, or 'the Plains of Aram.' A native of this country was called Aram, or an 'Aramite.' It might easily be anticipated that a people possessing so rich a country, and a capital of such commercial and political importance as Damascus from the first necessarily must have been, would increase in importance and power. So in after years we find the king of Aram a great and powerful sovereign, continually making war with the Israelites, and frequently defeating them and taking from them their possessions. And when the dominions of these Aramites became considerably more extensive, still the same

name of Aram was preserved for the whole—the name which has invariably been rendered into our version by 'Syria.'

It seems to have been somewhere in the plains east of Damascus that Haran, a son of Terah, settled, and built a city which he called by his own name. Before that time he and his father and his brothers had dwelt in Mesopotamia.

It seems that a large proportion of the Shemite race remained actually in Shinar long after the other tribes had gone. And although one division of the Shemites had, as we have seen, crossed westwards and taken possession of Tadmor and of southern Syria, yet great numbers still remained behind, and that tribe especially from whom God's chosen people, the Israelites, were descended. Thus we see that, even at the time of the Dispersion, the descendants of Shem were especially favoured, and perhaps, as we have before surmised, amongst *them* a clearer knowledge of the true God had been preserved.

We should just remark here an interesting notice in Genesis x. 25, where we are told that Eber had two sons. One was Peleg, 'for in his days the earth was divided.' Now Peleg does mean 'division,' but the translation should rather have been 'for in his days the earth was cut into canals,' the verb there used referring rather to a mechanical division of land, such as ploughing or cutting, than to a political division. We have no doubt that this notice, short as it is, is a record of the first cutting of some of those canals which are found in such numbers between the Tigris and the Euphrates; and the elder son of Eber, who was probably a man of great consequence in the country, and had large possessions, devised that way of improving the land; and was hence surnamed a divider, or, strictly, in the modern English term, 'navvie.' We do not know whether this has ever been pointed out before, but we believe that what we are stating is philologically correct. Peleg was the ancestor of Terah. And when Terah was an old man, he started with all his family from Mesopotamia and reached the city of Haran, and there he died. It was from Haran that Abram was called to go and take possession of the land of Canaan, which was promised to him and his descendants. Where Haran exactly was situated we do not know. It has been admitted by almost general consent that this city was beyond the Euphrates; and many believe that the ruins of Haran, south of Orfah, in Mesopotamia, show the site of Terah's burial-place. We do not concur in this; we believe that, so far from Haran being in Mesopotamia, it was situated within a short distance only of Damascus. However

much opposed this be to the generally received idea, we have strong grounds for making such an assertion, and can bring powerful arguments forward in support of it.*

We will suppose, then, that Haran was situated east of Damascus, and not far from the three lakes into which the rivers fall. Abram and his kinsmen would probably, while they resided there, have much intercourse with the people of the city. Living in the plain, their riches would consist in their flocks of sheep and goats, and their horses, and herds of cattle and camels. To Damascus they would naturally at all times resort, as the great market where the live stock would be sold or exchanged for the luxuries of the town.

There at all times would be found most probably individuals from the different Hamite tribes who dwelt within a few days of the city, and who would come likewise to purchase some of the wares for which Damascus was so early famed. Their wild appearance and savage manners would make them objects of special dislike to the more civilized and better-educated inhabitants of the city, and they were likely enough to be a bye-word among all the Shemites.

We do not wish to make it appear that at this early period a very high degree of civilization had been attained by the inhabitants of Damascus; yet even then it is far from being improbable that some advances might already have been made in the different arts. We find, at a later time, when the Israelites came up out of Egypt, that iron was in use in Bashan, which was probably one of the countries most backward in civilization; and it is more than probable that this ironware came from Damascus. But, besides, there is a tendency among Easterns, and perhaps not only among Easterns, to consider all foreigners as greatly inferior to themselves; so that prejudice would have much to do with the opinion that the Aramites would have of the Hamite tribes. We bring this forward in order that we may realize more fully the feelings of Abraham (who, although not an inhabitant of Damascus, was a Shemite) when he was about to leave his kindred and his friends to dwell in the midst of a people whom he had always been used to look upon with aversion. He took with him his wife, his nephew Lot, and Eliezer, a native of Damascus, as his chief servant, and passing through the land of Canaan, he encamped on the plains of Moreh, near Shechem.

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* We should refer the reader to some extremely valuable papers on this subject by Miss Fanny Corbaux, printed in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, and in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Literature*.

Abraham and his family were thus the first of the descendants of Shem who settled in a land which a few centuries after was the exclusive possession of the Shemites, and from which the original settlers, the Hamites, were in aftertimes almost entirely expelled.

Let us now make a hasty review of the provinces into which the countries east and west of Judea were divided at the time that Abraham first entered the land, and of the different races who inhabited them.

In the west of Jordan the number of the different people mentioned is very great, but, as in the present day, the difference of name is used to distinguish one tribe from another, and is not used to denote a separate race, we may assume that, with few exceptions, the language spoken by all these Hamite tribes was the same; and except when some broad distinction was actually marked out by the geographical features of the country, we may suppose that the habits and customs of these people varied but little.

The most important tribes seem to have been the Anakim, who inhabited the mountainous country in the south of Judea, and who were a very powerful people, and of great stature; the Jebusites, a small tribe who inhabited the mountains about Jebus, where Jerusalem now stands; the Hivites, some of whom had possession of the land on the foot of Hermon, and others of the country about Mount Ephraim; the Hittites, who were scattered over different parts of the plain country, some about Nazareth, and others as far south as Hebron; the Perizzites, who dwelt in the plain of Cœlesyria; the Canaanites, properly so called, who inhabited Phœnicia; the Giblites, who had Lebanon; and the Philistines, who dwelt in the fine plains reaching from the foot of the southern mountains of Judea to the Mediterranean. All the tribes except the Philistines had, as we have seen, come across the Desert into Northern Syria, and then gradually taken possession of the whole land. But the Philistines had come from the race of Hamites who, after reaching the Persian Gulf, had passed through Arabia, and crossed the Straits of Bab-el-Mandab into Ethiopia, and thence journeying northwards, had at last settled in the fruitful lands of Philistia. Other tribes are mentioned, but of the exact territory which they occupied we are not certain. One other great tribe should not be passed over, since it had representatives on the west of Jordan. The western portion of the Dead Sea, and a portion of the country northwards near the river, had been taken by some of the Amorites. This great tribe dwelt east of Jordan, and of them we shall have much to say when we come to mention that

country. It had become so numerous, that many settlements were made by the Amorites among the tribes of which we have now been speaking, so that a sketch of the people west of Jordan would be incomplete without them.

The whole land east of Jordan was, as we have already seen, entirely in the possession of one great and powerful race, known by the name of REPHAIM. They were not only a very numerous and very warlike people, but were celebrated for their great stature, so that in aftertimes their name came to be the word which was used to denote a giant.* Like all these races, the Rephaim were divided into several tribes, each of which had its own territory. The most important of these tribes were the EMIM, whose southern boundary was about the lower part of the Dead Sea, while all the high land above the Sea belonged to them as far as the river Arnon, which was the frontier of another tribe of the Rephaim, called the Amorites. All the country lying between the Arnon and the Jabbok, as far westward as the Jordan, belonged to these Amorites; while on the east of them dwelt again another tribe of Rephaim, who were afterwards driven out by the Amorites, the descendants of Lot, and called by these people Zanzummim. The Jabbok formed the southern limit of the kingdom of Bashan, where the largest and most powerful division of the Rephaim were located. Their territory reached the whole way from the Jabbok to near the banks of the Pharpar, the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee bounding it on the west, and a chain of mountains some five days east of the Sea of Galilee, and called the mountains of Bashan, forming the eastern limit of the territory.

From the westward side of the Sea of Tiberias it appears as if the eastern shore was lined by high mountains; but if we ascend them, and gain the height above, a plain so extensive meets the eye that our vision eastwards is limited only by the horizon. It is, in fact, a great tract of table-land, elevated about the height of 2000 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and, with the exception of a few hills which here and there appear dotted about, it extends in one continued plain as far as the mountains of Bashan; and these only come as a kind of fence across it, for beyond them again the same even ground extends to the Euphrates. Of this plain, between the Sea of Galilee and the mountains of Bashan, which formed a portion of the ancient Land of Bashan, we are going to speak more at large. The first time we actually read of any city of

* This is literally the case. Rapha in Hebrew means a giant, Raphaim is simply the plural form.

this country, is in Abram's time, when four chiefs of warlike tribes on the other side of the Desert crossed over on a predatory expedition, and reached the Land of Bashan, when they were met and opposed by the Rephaim, who, however, were defeated in a battle at Ashteroth-Karnaim.*

After this encouragement the four chiefs proceeded southwards, and fought others of the Rephaim, until they came to far south of the Dead Sea, where the Horim dwelt.† These were likewise defeated, and the invaders turned again northwards. They seem to have been a very powerful horde, for the whole country east and west of Jordan yielded to them. But the chiefs of the five cities in the plain below the Dead Sea, who had been fourteen years already tributary to these chiefs of Shinar, rallied their people and attempted to avenge themselves on the marauders. A battle was fought in the vale of Siddim, which was a marshy plain and full of bituminous wells. Two of the chiefs of the plain fell, and the four robber leaders, again victorious, carried off all the plunder they could, and retreated hastily with a number of prisoners, before a greater force could be collected against them.

It was then that Abram, hearing that his nephew was amongst the captives, set off with a few of his trusty attendants, and, after pursuing the enemy to Dan, he there fell upon them, and took back all the spoil and liberated his nephew Lot. Not content with that, he pursued the fugitives towards Damascus, and near that city he completely routed them. The course which these people took both on entering Canaan and on leaving it, gives a good clue to their direction across the Desert.

From our knowledge of that country at the present day, we should have said, *à priori*, that a party of marauders in coming from Mesopotamia would keep as long as possible near the Euphrates, and then strike across for Tadmor, one of the only places in the Desert where there is at all times abundance of water; from Tadmor they would make directly for the plains of Syria, and so go southward, laying waste the country before them. And so when we find that they first appear not far from Damascus, and then work their way southwards, and on the return journey, when they are pursued, take nearly the same course, we have strong presumption in favour of the path which would be taken under similar circumstances in the

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* See Gen. xii.

† In mentioning the different Rapha tribes we omitted the Horim, because their country lay much to the south of that which we shall consider in this Essay.

present day, being in those days also the one pursued by travellers across the Desert.

After these events we read no more of this Land of Bashan nor of its people for six centuries. During that time, however, the *whole* number of the Rephaim in the east of Jordan had not much increased. Two of the tribes had been almost annihilated, and their territory had become the possession of the descendants of Lot—the Moabites occupying the land by the Dead Sea as far as the Arnon, which had been the territory of the Emim, and the Ammonites taking possession of the land of that tribe of the Rephaim whom in their language they called Zanzummim.* On the other hand, the Amorites and the Bashanites had not only increased internally, but their population was probably augmented by those who escaped the sword of the Moabites and Ammonites, and who would naturally seek refuge among their Hamite brethren. We have here again another instance of the way in which the Shemites were especially favoured. The Moabites and Ammonites, being descendants of Lot, were permitted to destroy the Hamites, who occupied the land before them, and even received especial assistance from God to enable them to do what otherwise would have been impossible for them.† We have already alluded to the large blocks of basalt which are found scattered over the country east of Jordan, and to the fact of the Rephaim having made use of these to build their houses and cities. Situated as they were on the very edge of the Desert, and exposed at all times to the attacks of the nomadic tribes, who were every year increasing in number, it was very important to them to have their towns well fortified. Many of their cities were very large, and surrounded by walls, and so solidly built that when the people were intrenched within their towns they might well be thought invincible.

During the same number of years, from their first migration, that we have seen the Rephaim grow into a very numerous and powerful people, the Aramites, their neighbours, had likewise made great advances, and had even thus early established a kingdom, which in later times became a terror to the whole land of Judea. Nor had the progress of civilization on the eastern side of the Desert been less active. The descendants of the robber chiefs who had come over to plunder the outlying towns of Canaan, were now sovereigns of a more settled and established monarchy, and the people con-

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* These we believe to be the Zuzim mentioned in Genesis xiv., and of whom we hear nothing afterwards.

† Deut. ii. 9.

ducted their wars in a more organized way. Commerce was developing—the rich produce of India, spices, and other valuables were brought to Damascus, while the merchants in return, who traded there, took back the rich silks, and the wares and the fruits of Syria. From its position, Damascus would be the point to which all the great caravans would make; lying on the extreme west of the Desert, it would be the harbour for which they would steer, and where the wares would be unloaded.

A large proportion of the ladings of these caravans would be destined for the city itself, whose markets would supply all the country round; while the rest would be sent to Sidon, perhaps, which even then may have exported merchandize beyond the seas. As commerce opened, the arts would develope; the necessity would soon be felt for tools of various kinds, and Damascus soon became celebrated for the skill of her workers in iron and other metals. The trade of the smith, which in all countries has been an important one, but especially among warlike and half-civilized nations, must have here been highly estimated. Among the Highland clans, in times past, the successful smith was one of the most influential members of the community, and so, doubtless, here, the man who could forge the best arms, and wield them too, would be considered the most valuable person in the state, and honour would be paid him accordingly. Indeed, it is interesting to find, in later times, that the royal name or title of the kings of Syria was Hadad or Ben-hadad, that is, Smith or Son of a Smith;* and when, on one occasion, a usurper of altogether another family stepped in, he actually assumed for his family the honoured name of Smithson.†

Of course the fabrication of arms would be one of the most profitable occupations in the town. For to the arm-shops of Damascus people from all the countries around would repair. The stout Bashanite, and the wary son of Ishmael, who had for many a day saved up the goods he had robbed to exchange them for a weapon of which he could be certain, and the possession of which he knew would give him such importance among his tribe.

While secure within their own city gate, the armourers might demand any sum they chose for their wares, feeling the additional satisfaction of levying, in turn, a heavy toll on those

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* So in many other instances the chief was called Hadad, or some derivative of Hadad. See 1 Kings xi. 14, 23.

† 2 Kings xiii. 3. Hazael, who slew his master; his son we find took the name of Ben-hadad.

who they knew full well would never let an opportunity pass of robbing them.

This is the state of advancement which we suppose the Aramites and the Rephaim to have attained at the time when the Israelites came out of Egypt, and after wandering about for nearly forty years, had arrived in the land of the Moabites, at the southern border of the Dead Sea. With the Moabites and the Ammonites, being of their own blood, the children of Israel were not to interfere; but they had full permission, if a friendly passage were refused them through the country of the Rephaim, to take the land by force, and were promised the victory over this formidable people if they would only put their trust in God. The Israelites, while waiting in the land of Moab, despatched a messenger to Sihon, king of the Amorites, to request leave to pass through his land, solemnly engaging themselves to pay for all the provisions they took by the way. To this request Sihon gave a positive refusal; so, at the command of Moses, the Jews advanced and crossed the Arnon, which formed the southern boundary of the land of the Amorites, and declared open war against their king. It was not without great apprehension that many of the people obeyed this order. The scouts who had been sent out at different times to reconnoitre the country, had brought back such terrific accounts of the number of the Rephaim, of their great strength, their gigantic size, and of the almost impregnable nature of the great stone cities which they inhabited,* that when the intention of Moses was first known, many of the people murmured, and, mistrusting the God who had delivered them already from so many dangers, cried out that they were being led to certain death. But Moses believed in the promises of God, and so did two of the spies—Caleb and Joshua; and they cheered on the people, who were soon to learn what wonders God would enable them to perform. Sihon intrenched himself in his capital, Heshbon; the Israelites marched upon it, laying waste the towns and villages in their way. They then besieged the city and took it, and put Sihon and his family to the sword. Many of his people shared the same fate, for the Israelites overcame the whole country, and took every town and city. Those who escaped, fled; some of them to their brethren the Rephaim of Bashan, and others probably to the children of Ammon, who, although they were sure of being left in peace by the children of Israel, as the Moabites had been, yet looked upon them as dangerous aggressors; and although they did not dare as yet openly to

* Numbers xiii. 28.

oppose them, they considered them really in the light of enemies.

The only remaining territory which the Rephaim now possessed was the kingdom of Bashan.

Og, the king of this country, was the chief whose name inspired fear more than that of almost any one in those times. His name, and the reputation of his great strength, had long since reached the Israelites. Many wanderers they must have met in their journey who would give them the most vivid account of the power of the great chief of Bashan, and tell of the wonders he and his people did. Many a tale had they listened to of the numbers this man had slain with his own hand, and of the utter impossibility of wounding him. If the Israelites had not an exalted idea of his power, it was not the fault of the narrators, for never was an Eastern guilty of spoiling his story for *want* of exaggeration.

On the other hand, Og had heard, no doubt with some dismay, of the defeat of his neighbour King Sihon; but still he felt how much stronger he was, and had all confidence of repelling the invading army. Again the order was given to advance. The river Jabbok was crossed, and the Israelites were suffered to move on through the fertile plain of southern Bashan, without, as far as appears from the account in Deuteronomy, any opposition being offered to them. Now, in the centre of Bashan, almost midway between the Sea of Galilee and the mountains of Bashan, the rich plain to which we have so often alluded, is interrupted by a tract of country which, as a geological formation, is perhaps one of the most remarkable with which we are acquainted.

From the fertile land, on which scarcely a stone can be found, there suddenly rises an island of basalt; it can best be conceived by calling it an island, for the irregular edge, as it rises abruptly from the soil below, exactly resembles a rocky coast. The general form of this volcanic island is oval, the two diameters measuring respectively about 60 and 20 miles. It lies nearly north and south, with the longer diameter in that line. The interior is rent in the most wonderful manner. Great fissures are found in many parts, and so wide, that they cannot be crossed by man or beast, and extending for a distance of several miles. In short, we cannot give a better idea of this region than by comparing it, as we have done elsewhere, rather to the appearance presented by some portions of the moon, than to any formation we have in the earth. In such a place it will easily be conceived that a small body of men well acquainted with the locality might keep at bay a large army. This region is now called El-

Lejah, and was in former times known by the name of Argob. The first word means a rope; the second, a rocky tract. The Arabic term El-Lejah was probably used to represent the way in which this district is cut off from the rest of the plain, enclosed as it were with a line. All round this region of Argob the cities of the Rephaim were built, and even in the interior, among the wildest recesses of this rocky place, numerous towns and villages were placed, which, except to the inhabitants themselves, were totally inaccessible. It was in the western side of Argob, and about midway between its northern and southern limits, that the capital city, the city of Edrei, was placed. At a distance of scarcely more than 300 yards from the plain, it was built actually among the black basalt rocks, and thus held a very strong position. The Rephaim no doubt considered all their cities to be of such extraordinary strength, that none but a very powerful army could take them. But these cities of Argob, above all, were deemed utterly impregnable. The children of Israel, it seems, were suffered to advance a long way across the plain of Bashan before they met with any determined resistance; they may, indeed, have had skirmishes with Og's people, but at all events no account of any pitched battle is given. On the contrary, the Rephaim probably, like most people who build strong places, liked fighting behind walls, and preferred engaging the invading army within the rocks of Argob, where, if they once became entangled, they might be harassed with impunity, to meeting them in battle in the open field. And besides, however lightly they may before have been inclined to treat this army of Jews, now, since the conquest of the Amorites, they must have felt some fear of them.

The Israelites still continued their march northward, until they found themselves before the capital Edrei. Had Og remained within the city, humanly speaking, it would have been impossible for the Israelites to have conquered him. The only hope they would have had of taking the place would be by a long siege, and that would hardly have been possible to maintain, because they could not without great difficulty invest the city. The western side, next the plain, they might watch and cut off all supplies from that quarter, the most fruitful indeed in that part of Bashan; but to reach the eastern side of Edrei, they must have penetrated some distance among the rocks; and not only would this have been too dangerous a work to attempt, but even were they able to watch ever so well on that side, the people of Argob, knowing all the winding ways within the rocks, could always have managed to bring provisions to the city without being seen.

The only real hope of taking the city was by drawing the Rephaim out into the plain. Whether some *ruse* was employed to entice the people from their stronghold, or whether Og, in full confidence of his great strength and invulnerability, planned a sudden attack, or, as we should now say, a *sortie*, on the Israelites as they lay before the city, we are not told.

Either would be difficult: it would require no small amount of skill to entice these people from behind walls; and it is more improbable that such a people should of their own free will risk a battle in the open.

We confess that we have often wondered how it had happened that Og had been brought to fight in the plain, and in thinking over it felt quite convinced that there must have been some almost miraculous interference in favour of the Israelites.

Now, from a casual notice in another place,* we actually find that God sent a special scourge among these Rephaim in the shape of swarms of hornets, which, we may suppose, harassed them so much in their stone-houses, that they were driven out of their towns, and preferred the alternative of meeting the Israelites to perishing from the stings of these creatures. So, forced from his city,† Og met the Israelites in the plain, and in a pitched battle he was defeated and Edrei taken.

The Rephaim were now panic-stricken on hearing of the death of their mighty king, and as many as could escape made their way to the land of the Ammonites. With Edrei most of the cities of Argob fell into the hands of the Jews; and following up their great victory with renewed ardour and confidence, they ultimately took every one of the cities and towns of Bashan, the whole of Og's kingdom. The easternmost city was Salcah, which was situated on the southern slope of the mountain range which formed the limit of Bashan in the east; so, in giving the limit of Og's kingdom, the sacred historian says, 'all Bashan unto Salcah.'‡

To the west, Og's kingdom seems to have extended to the Sea of Galilee; at all events, all that country was a land of

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* Joshua xxiv. 12.

† Most probably Sihon had in the same manner been forced out of Heshbon; and to this especial assistance from God the Israelites owed the conquest of the land of the Amorites in the first instance, as they were now indebted to the same cause for their victory over the Bashanites. We venture thus to supply a void in one part of the sacred narrative from another part of the same, without attempting any rationalistic explanation.

‡ Deut. iii.

Rephaim; but whether the land west of Argob was included under the name of Bashan is doubtful, probably not from Deut. iii. 10, where Edrei seems to represent the western limit of Bashan. The country between Argob and the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan, was divided into two provinces called Golan and Geshur;* and the southernmost portion of Og's territory, consisting of the mountainous country north of the river Jabbok, was called Gilead. The whole of this country was now the territory of the Israelites, this wonderful land of the giants, these cities, 'with high walls, gates and bars,' which, it had been thought, no mortal would ever venture to attack; all this land, which for centuries had been in the exclusive possession of the descendants of Ham, was now, in an incredibly short time, transferred into the hands of a Semitic race, and was become the possession of the descendants of him to whom God had made a promise many centuries before that his seed should inherit this land.

To the tribes of Reuben and Gad all the land of the Amorites was allotted, together with that portion of Og's dominions which lay in the southern part of Gilead; while the northern part of Gilead, and all the rest of Og's country, was given to the half-tribe of Manasseh.

The only Rephaim who now remained east of the Jordan, were those who had sought shelter among the Moabites and Ammonites. The people of Moab and Ammon were a continual annoyance in after years to the Israelites; for centuries they made periodical inroads† upon the country west of Jordan, and laid waste the land, and drove away the cattle, as the Arab tribes do at the present day, till now and then the people became exasperated, and organized an expedition against them. And then they were rarely able fully to punish them, for in their own wild rocks on the mountains of Moab they were almost inaccessible, and it was only when they could be drawn out into the open that any signal vengeance could be taken.‡ One of their chief cities, Kir Moab, or 'the city of Moab,' was perched on a rock far above the Dead Sea, to which a narrow winding path lead up, which a few men from above could so effectually command, that if a whole army tried to scale the rock, scarcely a man would reach the top alive, so exposed would they all be to the missiles of all

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* Now called Jaulân and Jedûr. The radicals in the Hebrew and Arabic, in the first name, are the same in the second, one of them only is altered.

† See, for instance, 2 Kings xiii. 20.

‡ 2 Kings iii. 21—26.

kinds, arrows, spears, and huge stones which would be hurled down upon them.

This strong place still preserves its ancient name in the form Kerak. It was taken by the Crusaders after a siege, and held some time by them, and incorrectly supposed to be Petra or Edom. Now, it is the only inhabited place east of the Dead Sea, and the people who dwell there are worthy representatives of the old Moabites; for no place is more difficult of access or more insecure to remain in, when once reached, than Kerak, owing to the brutal behaviour of its savage people. After the conquest of all this country, the Israelites crossed the Jordan; and after a series of battles with, and victories over, the village chiefs, they were not long in possessing themselves of nearly the whole of that land which had been promised to them. Some of the Rephaim still remained and several tribes of Hamites. Of these the most powerful were the Philistines. Many of the mountainous parts, as Jebus, were still untaken, but the greater part of the fruitful land was divided amongst those tribes of Israel who had not obtained a possession on the east of Jordan. In subduing this country, the conquest of one chief after another was very rapid, although the battles were sometimes bloody and hard fought. The land then, as it is now in the East, was under some nominal head, although each town had its chief, just as each village at the present day has its hereditary sheikh, whose appointment is nominally sanctioned by the Porte; but, in the weak and rotten state of the Turkish empire, the sheikh is all-powerful over his village and among his own people; and you may still find now, as then, a king of Jarmuth, and a king of Eglon, and a king of Lakish.* We will not enter into particulars as to the division of the land west of Jordan, because we are especially concerned in this Essay with the Rephaim and their country east of Jordan.

The half-tribe of Manasseh kept Bashan until the Assyrians carried them away with the other tribes, and during the whole of that time little mention is made of this country. That it was always a very wealthy province there is no doubt, since it contains some of the richest lands in the East.

The corn it produced, and the cattle which it reared, would find always a ready market at Damascus and Samaria, and other great cities. Its timber was likewise celebrated: the oak of Bashan, so often mentioned in the Scriptures, was in constant demand, and supplied the dockyards of the Phœnicians.† Under the Assyrians we know little or nothing of

* Joshua x. † See Ezek. xxvii. 6.

Bashan; but in later times, under the Roman sway, it became again a very important province, and it was divided into several political divisions, Argob being called Trachonitis, the country east of Argob, as far as the great mountains, Batanæa, while the whole province was named Auranitis.*

The old cities and towns which had been built by the ancient Rephaim were again inhabited, new buildings erected, the largest cities adorned, and, as was usual with the Romans, even in their most outlying provinces, the theatre was not forgotten. The temples generally had to be built, but many of their dwelling-houses were adapted simply from the older buildings of the Rephaim. The greatest of their cities were Bozrah, Kanatha or Kenath, Salcah, Kerioth, Edrei, and indeed all the large places of more ancient times were converted into important towns under the new rule. The importance which was attached to this province by the Romans is likewise seen from the great engineering works which were carried out under them. A road was actually cut right through Trachonitis, the wild Argob. It led from Damascus to Rabbath Ammon, the capital of the Children of Ammon. Another road was made in a direct line across the Desert from Salcah to Basrah on the Tigris, a distance of not less than 900 miles. We see from this under what subjection the Arab tribes must have been in those times. Then, as under the powerful sway of King Solomon, the journey across the Desert was perfectly safe, and merchants could engage without risk to convey the most precious wares between Syria and Assyria. The Arab tribes were then the shepherds and the cattle-dealers of the community. At certain times large fairs were held, and the choicest breed of horses and the finest camels would be brought without fear to market. Under such a government the Arabs formed useful and valuable members of the commonwealth.†

As the Roman power decreased the Arabs became less manageable, and the road across the Desert was soon closed. Again another conqueror came—the Saracen; and under him, for a certain period, there was a new show of life and vigour. But when Bashan became a province of the

* Batanæa, a Romanized form of Bashan, and Auranitis, the Latin form of Hauran.

† In that remarkable chapter of Ezekiel xxvii., where such a graphic description is given of the riches of Tyre, its grandeur, and its great commerce with all parts of the world, it is said the 'Princes of Kedar occupied with thee, in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants.' By the princes of Kedar are meant the Arab chieftains.

Ottoman empire its prosperity was gone; first, the more distant cities of the plain had to be given up, owing to the continued incursions of the nomadic tribes; then the nearer towns were left desolate, until each year saw some other place given up, and the country more and more encroached on by the Arabs.

Thus we find that the Land of Bashan has been in the possession of many races. First, the Rephaim, the earliest settlers, who occupied the country during many centuries; then the Hebrews, the Assyrians, the Romans, the Saracens, and the Turks. But, although the land is in this day nominally a Turkish possession, the real lords of the country are the Druzes, who are now almost the only inhabitants of this once most populous land.

When this remarkable people first settled there is not recorded, nor are we any better informed as to the race to which they originally belonged. They have probably been established there some centuries; but although they have some traditions among themselves, no account which has yet transpired has given us any real clue to the former history of this people. At the present day their number in Bashan amounts to about 7000 fighting men, which will give a population of from 28,000 to 30,000 souls; but in Lebanon it is much greater, probably eight times the number of those in Bashan. From this we should be tempted at first to infer that the original stock had settled in Lebanon, and that the more eastern members of the same race had been offshoots from the others, and, moreover, at the present day the number of those in Bashan is actually being increased by additional wanderers from Lebanon. But this is not sufficient reason for affirming as certain that the Druzes of Bashan are more recent settlers than others. On the contrary, we are ourselves led to believe, from other considerations, that the Druzes of the Haurân were the earliest immigrants of the Druze race into Western Asia.

Now that we have traced, though necessarily in a very imperfect manner, the history of the Land of Bashan from the time of its early peopling by the Rephaim down to the present occupation of the country by the Druzes, we shall first give a rapid sketch of the journeys of the few travellers who have visited Bashan in modern times, and then allude to our own particular researches in that country. Before the early part of the present century it does not appear that any European had attempted to explore the ancient Bashan. The first traveller seems to have been Seetzen, who was in the Russian diplomatic service, and who having been resident some time

at Damascus, where he had heard various accounts of remarkable cities in the Haurân (the name by which the ancient Bashan is now known*), determined to investigate the truth of these stories himself. He accordingly set out, attended by one man, and succeeded in reaching a few of the more northern towns. He met with considerable difficulty, and after a few unsuccessful attempts at penetrating farther, he was obliged to return to Damascus. He subsequently went to the east of the Sea of Galilee, and then continued his course southwards through the country east of Jordan, and was the first traveller who went round the Dead Sea. Seetzen was undoubtedly a traveller of great enterprize, and it is to be regretted that he did not leave us more detailed accounts of his journey.†

Four years later Burckhardt, who had been preparing some time for an extensive journey of discovery, and had devoted himself already at Aleppo to the study of the language and customs of the Arabs, having heard of Seetzen's visit to the ancient Bashan, and of his discoveries there, determined to explore the country thoroughly. The difficulties he knew would be very great; if he travelled as a European he would be altogether thwarted by the jealousy of the natives, and might even not be allowed to return in safety to Damascus. So he dressed himself in the garb of a native of Syria, and hiring an ass, not so much to carry the things he had need of as to secure the friendship and protection of its owner, who likewise would act as his guide, he set out upon his adventurous journey.

The population of the Haurân consisted then, as it does now, of three distinct sects—the Druzes, who far outnumbered all the other inhabitants, the Muslems of the towns, and the Christians. The latter are not numerous, only a few families being found in some of the towns, who had probably gone there to escape the persecution of the Muslems of Damascus. Even in the Haurân they were ill-treated and despised, so universally in the East is the Christian persecuted.

From the Druzes he could hardly hope for a very courteous reception, as they are alike enemies to Christians and Muslems, and were so totally unacquainted with Europeans, that he would not be distinguished from a native Syrian; and as they were really the rulers of the country, he endeavoured to travel

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* The name Haurân is likewise twice mentioned in Scripture.

† For the account of his journey, see his letters addressed to Baron Zach, the astronomer of Gotha.

as secretly as possible, so as not to attract their notice. On the other hand, from the Muslems he could expect little better treatment, and might even be exposed to more real danger from the fanatics of this sect than from the Druzes. So his only hope was in the Christians, and to them he had a letter from their patriarch at Damascus. He likewise obtained a firman from the governor of Damascus commanding that all respect and attention should be shown him by the Muslem subjects of the Porte; but this, he says, he found of little use, the Turkish authority in the Haurân even then being only nominal.

On leaving Damascus, he went for some distance along the road which is taken by the caravans of pilgrims to Mekka, and is called *Derb-el-Haj*, or 'the Pilgrim's Road.' It is nearly the line of the old Roman road between Damascus and Gerasa. After following it to beyond Es-Senamein, 'the City of the Two Idols,' he struck eastward and reached the city of Edhr'a, the ancient Edrei. On the way he had been threatened with another danger, and one which he had reason to fear might haunt him through his whole journey, that of being attacked by the nomadic Arabs, who at certain times literally in swarms frequent this thinly peopled country.*

He describes his astonishment at the ancient buildings he found in Edrei. Instead of meeting with some ruined sites such as are found elsewhere, here he had before him houses, many of which were evidently so ancient that they might well have been standing at the time when Og dwelt in this place. Burckhardt does not seem to have been very well acquainted with Scripture history, nor did it appear that he was urged by any enthusiastic desire of bringing forward proofs of the accuracy of the Mosaic account, and so his testimony to the great antiquity of the towns of the Haurân is of all the greater value.

After leaving Edrei, he kept close to the border of El-Lejah, the ancient Argob, and visiting one by one the ancient towns through which his course lay, he came at length to Suweideh, one of the greatest cities in the Haurân, and near to the western slope of the mountains of Bashan. In this great city many remains are to be found of the Roman period, temples and other public buildings, but the ordinary dwelling-houses are the work of a much earlier period. There is an interesting tradition among the natives that Suweideh was the birthplace of Bildad, the friend of Job; it is mentioned by Jerome

* Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria.*

that Job himself was a native of the Haurân, and the inhabitants of Kunawât, only a few miles north-east of Suweideh, hold a tradition that their city was the city of Job.

Kunawât is the ancient Kenath, which was one of the oldest cities of Bashan. Kenath was its original name in the time of the Rephaim, and when the Israelites had conquered the land, Nobah took Kenath, and called it after his own name.

The name of Nobah it has long lost, and the old name of Kenath was resumed,—the name by which, under a slightly altered form, it is now known.

This Kenath was the next place seen by Burckhardt; and here again he found much to interest him. The situation of this city is really beautiful. Unlike the generality of the cities of the Haurân, it is placed in the midst of a magnificent forest of oaks, and at the edge of a wild mountain torrent, while it commands a most extensive view of the plains to the west. This seems to have been the favourite city in the Roman time: a large palace, a hippodrome, a theatre, and several beautiful temples show how much care was taken to make Kenath an important place. In the present day Kenath has the largest population of any city of the Haurân, and here the great Imâm, or chief-priest of the Druze religion, resides. Burckhardt's next object was to cross the mountains, in order to obtain some knowledge of the country which lay eastward of them. On reaching the summit of the range the great Desert lay before him, which extends without interruption to the Euphrates. But his eye was soon arrested by numerous black spots in the plain, which, he was informed, were cities as large and interesting as those he had seen in the Haurân. It can only be thoroughly appreciated by those who have themselves looked on an unexplored tract of land; with what eagerness he must have desired to sally out into the Desert, and, one by one, pay a visit to those ancient places! Two or three of these towns, which actually lay at the foot of the mountains, he was able to reach. One of these, Ormân, he identified, from a Greek inscription which he copied from the wall of a public building, with the long lost *Philippopolis*. But this was the easternmost limit of his journey; he found it impossible to venture further into the Desert. West of the mountains he had been frequently threatened, but here he was in the undisputed territory of the Arabs; and should he go farther, he could not hope to escape without being attacked and plundered. Burckhardt himself would no doubt have risked much in the hope of seeing more of these deserted cities, but his guides refused to accompany him, and it would have been exposing himself recklessly had he gone out alone; so with great reluc-

tance he turned his steps westwards, and then, going northwards by a different route, he reached Damascus in safety. Burckhardt's journey was, however, of the highest importance for, although, as we have seen, Seetzen was the first to enter the Haurân, and to tell of the ancient cities there, yet Burckhardt's observations were far more accurate, and his knowledge of the language and people were such that he could pass for a native. On his way back to Damascus he made an excursion into the heart of the Lejah, and greatly was he surprised to meet with so many towns in this rocky district. We cannot too highly appreciate the enterprize and courage of this remarkable man. At a time when the security for a European, even in the large towns, was not very great, he ventured alone for weeks among these wild people, and in places where his life might at any time be taken with impunity.

The next traveller in this land was Buckingham, in 1814. He afterwards published a long account of his journey, which may easily be obtained now.*

His experience was nearly the same with that of Burckhardt, and the accounts which he gave of these old cities of the Haurân caused great sensation at the time in Europe. Since Buckingham, although three or four travellers have passed hastily through the country, no one had again made so extensive a tour until 1853, when Mr. Porter, who was resident at Damascus, and had watched some time for a good opportunity, took advantage of the friendly feeling which for the time subsisted, from certain political reasons, between the British consul and the Druzes, and started on a journey through the Haurân. The results of this journey are given in his admirable work, to which we refer the reader for the most detailed account yet published of the Land of Bashan.†

In the year 1857 the author of these pages was making an extensive tour in Palestine and Syria, and he determined before leaving these countries to visit the Haurân.

The accounts given by Burckhardt, Buckingham, and Porter of the wonderful cities of that country, which they considered to be of such high antiquity that they might date from the time of the Rephaim, are enough to give any one an ardent desire to see for themselves these wonderful monuments of former ages; but there was one inducement to travel in this land even greater than that of merely visiting the places which had been seen by former travellers. The easternmost city which had ever been reached in modern times was Salcah.

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* Buckingham's *Travels in the Lands East of Jordan.*
† *Five Years in Damascus.*

This city was the eastern limit of the old kingdom of Bashan. Above the town, and built upon a hill, one of the last offshoots from the mountains of Bashan, is a strong castle, which occupies one of the most commanding positions imaginable. It is just on the very edge of the Desert, and a foe, from whichever direction he might come, could be seen almost a day's journey off. To climb to the top of this castle was, of course, the first aim of every traveller, on account of the wonderful view obtained from its battlements of all the land to the south and east. It was from this point that the three travellers we especially mentioned saw, as far as the eye could reach, black towns and cities scattered over the Desert,—cities which it was well known had not been inhabited for several centuries, and which, to all appearance, stood perfect and uninjured still. With what reluctance they each of them turned westwards again may rather be conceived than expressed, so much of deepest interest might, and probably did, lie unknown among these deserted cities. The more we read the account given of this view, and pictured it to ourselves, the more eager did we become to reach Salcah, and to endeavour if possible to go out and actually visit these cities of the Desert. There is always a charm in exploring any country, and in following any path which has not been trodden before; but when that country is one with whose history we have long been intimately acquainted, both from the records that have reached us of the doings of its inhabitants, and from a study of the works of its great men, with how greatly increased a delight do we not visit scenes with which we almost seem to be familiar from their having dwelt so long in our imagination! In Italy and Greece, for instance, when we travel in these countries for the first time, the scenes scarcely seem new to us, so often have we thought of, and tried to imagine, every place of interest in the land. If the enjoyment be great of visiting scenes of classical association, with what intense and solemn interest do we not first find ourselves in these lands, where everything that most concerns us has happened. From our earliest childhood the very names of the villages have been familiar to us as our own; before we have been taught anything else, we have listened to stories of those who dwelt in that land; we have been led to look up to the lives of men as examples to be followed who were natives of these countries, and He who is our most perfect Example remained in this land during the whole of his sojourn on earth.

It is indeed a Holy Land to us, because our earliest, happiest hours have been associated with it. From so early a period, indeed, do these recollections date, that the pictures

we have made seem rather to have been glimpses we have obtained of something beyond the earth. When we actually visit the Holy Land, and see all the very spots where such things have happened, we cannot help more forcibly realizing all that we have read in the Scriptures. Much that seemed unclear before now becomes a reality, and each day we have fresh confidence in the invariable truth of the holy writings.

In these deserted cities east of Salcah how much might there not be which could throw light on the early history of the Old Testament! Here were cities which for centuries had been deserted, and yet, as far as the accounts of the wandering Arabs went, they were still in good preservation. And there were the cities of the Land of Moab, whose fate had been predicted twenty-five centuries ago by the prophet when he said, 'The cities shall be desolate, without any to dwell therein.'*

We will now give a brief account of our journey in the ancient Bashan, and of our attempt to reach these cities, and then conclude with a few remarks about their history.

We left Damascus† in September, 1857, and, proceeding to the nearest town in the Haurân, we placed ourselves under the protection of the Druze chief, who sent an escort with us. Our first intention had been, if possible, to proceed to Musmeih, the ancient Pheneutus, and thence to enter the Lejah, into which hitherto only one traveller, Burckhardt, had yet penetrated, and he only explored the northern frontier of this tract. But, owing to a blood feud which subsisted between the Druzes and the wild tribe of Arabs who are now the only inhabitants of Argob, we found it impossible to penetrate from this side, and so, following the line of Burckhardt's second journey, we *coasted* the eastern side of the Lejah, and, examining one after another the numerous towns on the border of this wild region, we at last reached Shuhba, one of the largest towns of the Haurân, and the residence of one of the most powerful Druze chiefs. To him we communicated our intention of exploring the Desert eastward. He opposed it very much, urging the danger of such an expedition; but as he was for a time on friendly terms with the chief of an Arab tribe, whose range was east of the Haurân, an arrangement was at last effected, and he was to conduct us to a certain point in the Desert, and bring us safely back to the Druze chief, while the horses and all our valuables were left at Shuhba, that there

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* Jeremiah xlviii. 9.

† The party consisted of the author, two servants, and two muleteers.

should be no inducement for the Arab to play false. On our safe return he was to receive a certain stipulated present.

So, intrusting ourselves to his care, we left the house of the Druze chief, and after a three hours' ride, reached his encampment. It was on a high hill, and from it could be seen the Desert, far, far away to the east. It requires some explanation, considering that this was hitherto an unexplored country, and of which no map of course existed, as to how we were led, in our agreement with the chief, to make out a certain line of travels in the Desert. But we were guided almost entirely by accounts which Burckhardt and we ourselves had picked up, of certain marvellous cities in the Desert. This country had alone been passed by the roving Arabs, who had crossed it to and fro in several directions, and who, were it possible to trust to the accuracy of their accounts, might furnish us with most valuable information; but it is very rarely that a European meets with any of these Arabs, and when he does, he finds the stories they tell so vague that no reliance can be placed on them. The only method of ascertaining any geographical or other fact is by asking the same question of a great many of these men, and when several agree in the main, a faint hope may be entertained that there is some truth in their reports.

In this way we had heard of several cities, which they mentioned by name, and after consulting many of the most intelligent in the tribe, we began to form a vague idea of the relative position of these places, and of the number of days we should be out in the Desert. Of time the Arab keeps no account. If an Arab mentions the name of a place, and he is asked how long it will take to reach it, his answer most probably will be, either 'The journey will take us from sun-rising to sun-setting,' or 'it is far;' and when asked how far, he will say, perhaps, six or seven days, and presently, if he is asked the same thing a second time, he will very likely say 'ten days.'

In this particular instance it is not from a desire to deceive that he gives this vague information, but from real ignorance of time. He has made the journey, perhaps, several times, and will take you to the smallest hollow in the Desert, if you wish it, so well does he know how to find his way; but, as it never entered into his head at the time to count the number of days, of course he remained for ever after in perfect ignorance as to the length of time he had required for his journey.

Our grand object was to reach Es-Safâh, a rocky district which was said to exist out in the Desert, and similar in most respects to Argob. Only a peak in a chain of hills which

rises out of this rocky island had been seen hitherto; but what was our surprise, as we approached the Safâh, to find a whole range of hills which extended northwards for nearly forty miles! The Safâh we found to be, as represented, a wild and rocky place, of the same remarkable formation as the Lejah. It is of considerable size, being in some places twelve or fifteen miles in breadth, while northwards it reaches at least twenty miles. Generally speaking, the soil of the great plain is very rich; and although for centuries it has remained untilled, yet if it were once more cultivated, it would produce such abundant harvests, that the whole of Syria might be supplied by the corn which could be grown about the old cities of the Desert. But actually about the Safâh, and for several days eastward, the land is so completely covered with large basaltic stones, as to offer great difficulties to the camels and beasts in crossing it.

This stony tract or belt, as it may be called (for it reaches about five days eastwards, while in breadth it is about three-fourths of a degree), is called El-Hârrah, a name which the Arabs usually apply to such tracts as this, and which is probably derived from the Arabic word *Hâr*, 'heat.'

On the eastern border of Es-Safâh we found four cities, but in a much more ruined state than those in the Haurân. One of these was remarkable on account of a building of white stone, which was the more startling because nowhere near is any white stone to be found. It must have been brought from a considerable distance. But what was most interesting in this journey was the discovery of *written characters* in some unknown form on the smooth surfaces of the black stones.

Our attention was at first attracted by seeing some signs on one stone, and then a palm-tree on another; but what was our wonder, when we came to a place in the midst of this El-Hârrah, far out in the Desert, where every stone was engraved with some picture and bore some mystic characters! Within a space of a hundred yards or more in circumference every stone would be thus marked, while without the line scarcely an inscription could be found, until after four or five hours' ride another such spot would appear where every stone was marked. In this journey we found many cities and towns of ancient days; and we reached a hill, some distance to the east again of Es-Safâh, from the summit of which we gained an admirable view of the whole plain.

At last, being in great suffering for want of water, we were forced to return to the Haurân, and were received with many congratulations by the chief of the Druzes at Shuhba, who, from the length of time we had been away, had begun to

imagine that something had befallen us. Our next journey was among the mountains of the Haurân, and along the whole of their eastern border, a great part of which was new ground. Among the mountains we found some old cities of considerable size and importance. But then came the journey we had so much desired to make among the old cities east and south of Salcah. We shall not give here any account of the expedition itself, but merely mention that we were successful in accomplishing a journey among these long-deserted places. And although we ran some risk, both from the faithlessness of an Arab tribe south of Bozrah in whom we had trusted, and subsequently while with the Druzes, from the attacks of other Arab tribes, we were amply rewarded for all the trouble and privations we incurred, so deeply interesting was it to wander among these ancient cities of Moab. We have purposely glanced over, in a very rapid manner, the actual details of our travels, both because we consider that a narrative of a journey would here be out of place, and those who are really interested in seeing the full relation of these travels may do so by consulting the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, in which an account of our researches will appear—and because our object in this Essay was especially to bring forward as much as possible results which have been obtained, and not to enter into the details of the means by which they were obtained.

It was only because the Haurân was such a *terra incognita* that we thought it necessary to give some sketch of the travels of Burckhardt, so as to render what we are about to say more intelligible.

The results, then, to which all the researches of travellers in these countries have led, are, that in the country south-east of Damascus, called the Haurân, numerous cities of great size, and in a high state of preservation, are still standing. Cities which every traveller who has seen them has felt convinced to be of a very high antiquity; they are not mere sites, in many cases not even ruins, but are still standing almost uninjured. The streets are perfect, the houses perfect, the walls perfect, and, what seems most astonishing, even the stone doors are still hanging on their hinges, so little impression has been made during these many centuries on the hard and durable stone of which they were built. We have described elsewhere our amazement on first beholding these massive structures, so unlike any other buildings which we have seen, or even heard of. And we could not help being impressed with the belief that, had we never known anything of the early portion of Scripture history be-

fore visiting this country, we should have been forced to the conclusion that its original inhabitants, the people who had constructed these great cities, were not only a powerful and mighty nation, but individuals of greater strength than ourselves. But when we consider that this Haurân is really the ancient land of Bashan, of which we are told so much in the Pentateuch, of whose inhabitants we read such marvellous things—when we recollect that when the Israelites came out of Egypt and conquered Og, the King of Bashan, it is said that he had threescore walled cities, and 'all these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, besides unwalled cities a great many,' and that these were the cities which were built by the Rephaim in times long before Og—and, furthermore, when we find, from the account in Deuteronomy, that such numbers of cities are said to have existed within so small a space, that we quite marvel how the country could have been so thickly populated, yet that this same crowding together of the towns is one of the first peculiarities which we remark on visiting the Haurân at the present day—and, lastly, when we find existing among some of the towns of the Haurân the very names by which the old cities of Bashan were called,—we cannot help being convinced that in these old cities of stone we have before us the cities of the giant Rephaim, the cities of Og, which have stood now so many centuries, and will still stand as lasting monuments to all posterity of the conquest of Bashan, through the assistance given to his chosen people by the God of Israel.

But the cities east and south of the Haurân, which it was our good fortune to be the first to visit, were not included in the kingdom of Bashan. Of the eastern ones, those about the Safâh and in the stony region El-Hârrah, we seem to have no historical account whatever. Even the Arab historians, as far as we have yet been able to ascertain, make no mention of these cities of the Eastern Desert; so that for many centuries we may presume they have remained without inhabitants. Like the cities of Bashan, they were no doubt built by the old Rephaim. The houses are of the same constructure as the houses in the Haurân, but there is an absence of all Greek inscriptions among them, which goes far to prove that they never formed a portion of the Roman Empire; but in their stead we found inscriptions in this mystic character, which, to whatever class of language they belong, are decidedly very ancient indeed, and may lead us one day, when we shall be able to decipher them, to some farther knowledge of these countries and of their early inhabitants. Lastly, the cities to the south and south-east of the Haurân,

which we likewise for the first time explored in our journey last year, and which are decidedly among the most perfect and most interesting of them all, were the cities which belonged to the kingdom of Arabia in the time of Aretos, and the cities to which special allusion is made by Jeremiah. In his time the whole country east of Judea, as far north as Bashan, went by the name of Moab; and we have only to turn to the prophecies, both of Jeremiah and of Isaiah, to see what a dreadful threat was spoken against the cities of Moab.

Perhaps, of all those which we saw in our journey, none struck us more than the large towns in the plain south and south-east of Salcah. Among them there was one in particular which made an impression on us we shall never lose—it was Um-el-Jemâl, the ancient Beth-Gamul, a very large city, and to be compared almost with the modern Jerusalem. It was very perfect; and as we walked about among the streets, and entered every house, and opened the stone doors, and saw the rooms as if they had but just been left, and then thought that we were actually in the private dwellings of a people who for two thousand years had 'ceased to be a people,' we felt a kind of awe, and *realized* in a manner that we never perhaps could feel elsewhere how perfectly every tittle of God's Word is carried out; and whether it be a blessing that is spoken or a curse, it continues to be so—nothing is remitted until all be fulfilled. These cities of Moab, which are still so perfect that they might again be inhabited tomorrow, have been during many centuries unpeopled. The land about them, rich and fruitful as any in Syria, has long ceased to produce aught but shrubs and herbs, the food of the camel and the antelope.

The sound of the rejoicing at harvest time, and the song of the grape gatherers, has long since died away; and for centuries these old cities, which were once the scene of so much life and so much rejoicing, have been still; and no sound, save the cry of wild animals, has been heard in them.

How wonderfully true are these words:—

> Moab is destroyed! Give wings unto Moab, that it may flee and get away; for the cities thereof shall be desolate, without any to dwell therein.
>
> Moab is spoiled, and gone out of her cities.
>
> Moab is confounded, and judgment is come upon the *plain* country.
>
> Upon Beth-Gamul, ... and upon Kerioth, and upon Bozrah, and upon all the cities of the land of Moab far and near, the horn of Moab is cut off, and his arm is broken, saith the Lord.

Again, in all this country there is now no fruit except at Salcah, where there are some wild vines and pomegranates and figs, but before they are quite ripe the Arabs of the desert plunder them. Is not this predicted?—

> The spoiler is fallen upon thy summer fruits and upon thy vintage.
>
> And joy and gladness is taken from the plentiful field, and from the land of Moab.
>
> And I have caused wine to fail from the wine presses; none shall cry with shouting; their shouting shall be no shouting.
>
> And Moab shall be destroyed from being a people, because he hath magnified himself against the Lord.
>
> Woe unto thee, O Moab! . . . for thy sons are taken captives, and thy daughters captives.

Can we have stronger evidence of the accurate fulfilment of prophecy than by comparing what we see in this country with the words of Jeremiah spoken 2500 years ago?

When he spake these words Moab was powerful and proud, and laughed at the thought of what he said. They cried, 'We are strong and mighty, and no enemy can overcome us! How say ye, we are mighty, and strong men for the war? We have heard of the pride of Moab (he is exceeding proud), his loftiness, and his arrogancy, and his pride, and the haughtiness of his heart.'

We remarked upon the condition of the cities being still so perfect that they might at any time be re-inhabited. May not this be referred to in the end of the same chapter, when, after pronouncing all these many curses, these words simply are added: 'Yet I will bring again the captivity of Moab in the latter days, saith the Lord. Thus far is the judgment of Moab.'

Is it not then, indeed, true, that a careful study of the geography of these countries may furnish us with arguments which no one can gainsay?

Does it not seem as if these records of the past had been carefully preserved with a special design? How many cities in all parts of the world have been founded, destroyed, and founded again, and then a second time swept away, so that the very spot where they stood has long since been forgotten? And might not this as well have happened in Bashan as elsewhere? Or may we not rather suppose that these cities have been suffered to remain, though for centuries hidden from the gaze of man, in anticipation of a day when men should begin to doubt the history of past times as recorded in Scripture—when doubt growing into utter infidelity should lead men not only to distrust all revelation themselves, but to at-

tempt to inoculate others with their scepticism; and then, when most required as witnesses to the Truth, these old places could be again called forth to give their silent but all-convincing testimony to the accuracy of God's Word?

Such has literally been the case with regard to Nineveh and these old cities of Bashan. Sixty years ago they were alike unknown.

The researches at Nineveh have brought forward the strongest confirmation of the truth of that portion of Scripture which refers to Assyria; and farther researches will, no doubt, yield additional proofs of the identity of the two histories—that given in the Old Testament, and that derived from the inscriptions on cylinders and monuments.

And the explorations of Seetzen in the Haurân lead in the same way to the discovery of cities, the knowledge of whose existence gives the strongest possible proof of the truth of an earlier portion of Scripture.

Who would have thought that a casual notice of an obscure village would ever have been of vital importance?

And yet so it is. Some little spot once inhabited by a wicked people, and from which no good perhaps ever came in its day, may now be the means of so clearly showing the truth of a page of Scripture history as may lead to the conviction of many. And thus a name which long ago was only known as a name of reproach, may in these later times bring with it a blessing. So wonderful a compensation is there in God's works—so wonderfully does He make all things work for good!

We will now conclude with the hearty wish that what we have said in these pages may give some interest in this remarkable country, and may throw some light on the early portion of Scripture history. We are well aware of the imperfect manner in which the subject has been treated; but we may still hope that some things may be found which may serve as hints to be followed out, and be the means of inducing others to give some attention to the study of the ancient geography of the Holy Land in connexion with the sacred books of the Old Testament.

C. C. G.

COMMISSIONERS AND COLLEGES.

WHEN in April, 1850, Mr. Heywood invited the members of the House of Commons to join him in an address to the Crown for a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Universities, the friends of those institutions confidently anticipated that the invitation would be at once declined. An easy victory over the troublesome reformer was expected on all sides, and apparently with good reason; for the influence which those corporations had exercised for so many years upon the classes from which our legislators are for the most part taken was admitted to be great, and the esteem in which they were held by the country at large was high. Nor had they neglected the more obvious means of resisting the attacks of their assailants. Oxford had secured as her Chancellor the Great Duke, who was said to command majorities in the House of Lords; while Cambridge, wiser, as she fancied, in her generation than her sister, had wooed and won the protection of royalty itself, and felt safe under the shadow of the Throne. The exalted connexions, however, which the Universities had formed, availed them as little as their high character against the threatened insult. In the struggle, the simple member of the House of Commons proved stronger than either prince or peer. Mr. Heywood exhibited his bill of indictment against the Universities; and, to the surprise of the Ministerial benches, no less than of the Opposition, Lord John Russell endorsed it by announcing it to be the intention of his cabinet to advise the Crown to issue the Commission of Inquiry for which the House was invited to ask. Whether this announcement of the noble lord should be attributed to sudden impulse, or to settled purpose, is even now a moot point. Various motives for the course which he took were alleged at the time. Contradictory causes were in turn assumed and discarded. Whatever may have been the moving

cause, however, the effect was produced; and the Ministry pledged itself to use the influence of the Crown to put Oxford and Cambridge to the question.

Upon the first mention of a Royal Commission of Inquiry, its legality was warmly disputed. The lawyers on the Opposition side of the House denied that the Crown had any power to command evidence, or to compel the production of documents; and justly, for the Crown in its administrative capacity is but the Parliamentary synonym for the Ministry of the day. Their assertions were not contradicted. The Crown lawyers contented themselves with alleging in palliation, that the persons deputed by the Commission were only to invite evidence, and to question such as chose to answer; all power of enforcing obedience to their mandates was disclaimed. It occasioned some surprise and remonstrance, therefore, when, on the issuing of the Commission, it was found that the precedents of ante-revolution times had been followed, and that the Commissioners were authorized and empowered to call before them such persons as they might deem necessary, and to call for and examine books, documents, papers, and records. Students of history of course well understood that this grandiloquent charge was but one of the many legal fictions in which Englishmen delight, and by which they contrive to make the same official forms serve for the past power and present impotence of the Sovereign; yet loyal subjects were justified in complaining of the Minister who degraded the Crown by making it play the part of a Glendower.

The Cambridge Commission received the sign-manual on the 31st of August, 1850 A kind of promise had been given that the Commission should be a friendly one; and the promise was kept. While the Commissioners numbered amongst them some well-pronounced University reformers, it could not be said that any one of them was ignorant of the internal working of the institution into which they were to inquire, or hostile to the purposes which it had chiefly served. To this happy selection, as much as to the consciousness that Cambridge and its colleges had nothing to lose by publicity, the success of the Commissioners in obtaining evidence may be fairly attributed. Little advantage was taken of their want of power. Twelve out of the seventeen colleges answered fully and freely all the questions propounded to them. And though it was strongly felt at Cambridge that the appointment of the Commission was in itself a reflection upon the administration of the University and its colleges, yet the members of the

several foundations were, for the most part, content to forego the means of revenging the insult which the law had placed in their power.

In August, 1852, the Royal Commissioners presented their Report. In it they bore witness to the self sacrificing spirit which has of late years marked the conduct of affairs both in the University and in the colleges, and they acknowledged the promptness with which those bodies had adapted themselves, so far as their statutes permitted, to the requirements of the times. They gave credit to the colleges for the fairness which had been shewn in elections to fellowships and scholarships, and they expressed themselves content with the mode in which those elections had been conducted. With respect to the circle of University studies, they had little to remark beyond expressing their approval of the extension of it which was being carried out, and recommending the further development of a machinery which the University itself had created. In college matters they were equally complacent. Beyond the removal of county and kin restrictions from fellowships and scholarships, and a slight extension of the lay element in the college societies, they recommended no scheme of reform. So far their tendencies were conservative. They were travelling over trodden ground, and their footing was sure. But infallibility is not the prerogative of Commissioners any more than of Popes. *Humanum est errare.* And it is not unfair to say that the Royal Commissioners proved most satisfactorily their participation in the common lot. They discovered, as they imagined, a panacea for all existing evils in the revivication of a teaching professoriate. This teaching professoriate formed the great feature of their Report; it was to be the nucleus about which the elements of the reformed University were to crystallize. The professorial system was to be rehabilitated, and a University millennium was to be the consequence. Teachers more eloquent than Abelard, and less erratic, were to draw eager crowds of students round their chairs, and by some charm, unfortunately not yet known, were to close the gaping mouths and open the dull ears of their auditors. The gifted utterances of the hour of inspiration were to be miraculously remembered, and still more miraculously digested by the occupants of the crowded benches. *Ipse dixit* was again to become the current formula; for each professor was to be 'a blessed Glendoveer,' whose commission to speak no hearer was to be permitted to question. Oral teaching was thus to resume its long-lost empire. Listen and learn was to be the symbol of initiation into the

professorial schools. Books, it was expected, would be at a discount; for books imply reading, and reading excites thought and arouses criticism, and so unfits the mind for receiving with due docility the professorial outpouring. To provide this teaching professoriate with material sufficiently ductile for its delicate manipulation, a large staff of public lecturers was to be appointed, who were to be endowed from college funds, not amply indeed, but with enough to create an appetite for more. The usefulness or necessity of private tuition was to be no longer a vexed question; for such tuition was to be made impossible, as the Commissioners were sanguine enough to hope, by the conversion of each successful private tutor into a public lecturer. Eager and intelligent auditors were thus to be trained for the lecture-room of the professor, with whom the public lecturer was to be always *en rapport*, and whose docile subordinate he was expected invariably to be; while the professor, on his part, was to be spurred on to super-professorial efforts of explanation and description by 'the excitement of a large class.' There was thus to be no more idleness among either the teachers or the taught. The professors were to be incessantly engaged in composing and holding-forth; while their pupils were to be as incessantly employed in listening and remembering. So that, had Diogenes pitched his tub in our renovated Cambridge, he must have had it re-hooped to stand the rolling which the sight of so much bustle would have driven him to undertake.

The Report of the Royal Commissioners, of course, excited much attention. This was but its due; for, whatever might be thought of the tendencies of the changes proposed, the weight of the names attached to the Report demanded for its proposals the most thoughtful consideration. Accordingly, a syndicate, composed of representatives from the several colleges, was appointed for the purpose of considering such of the recommendations as more directly affected the University. Although the functions of the syndicate were restricted, by the terms of its appointment, to the consideration of the expediency of adopting measures for augmenting the existing means of teaching the students of the University by public professors and public lecturers, and for regulating and encouraging the studies so taught; yet it was well understood that the syndics were at liberty to discuss the whole subject of educational reform, as treated of in the Report, and to provide means for carrying into effect such of the recommendations as they might deem advisable. Their representative constitution was supposed to give them a peculiar aptitude for such a work. And, so far indeed as the critical element

was involved, the syndicate turned out to be admirably fitted for the duties imposed upon it. Every project of educational reform which was brought before it was thoroughly, it might even be said mercilessly, analysed. Consequently, though much time was occupied in discussing various schemes, little which could be made the subject of legislation resulted from their deliberations. Yet they did their work. The chief points of the Report were fully discussed. Many errors were exploded. The glaring defects of the professorial system of teaching were balanced against its apparent merits, and were found far to outweigh them. The grand scheme of public lecturers by which the system was to be propped was seen to be a costly and hazardous experiment, unlikely to answer even the end which the Commissioners hoped to attain, and calculated to secure little beyond the establishment of a batch of University sinecures endowed from college funds. The halo of glory with which the imagination of the Commissioners had invested their creation of a teaching professoriate, paled before the common-sense gaze of those whom experience had made familiar with the material of which the great majority of University students are composed; and the result was, that the syndicate did not think it expedient to recommend the adoption of any measures for augmenting the existing means of teaching the students of the University by public professors and public lecturers.

It is difficult to understand how this system of a teaching professoriate can have acquired even a temporary popularity; for the idea of education on which it is based seems altogether erroneous. That idea assumes, implicitly, that it is the sole province of the instructor to communicate knowledge, without caring to ascertain in the process if the recipient is capable of appropriating what is communicated to him, or even of understanding what he hears. It assumes that the pupil will be always attentive, and that his memory will never fail. It assumes, moreover, that the lecture will be of that even, commonplace character which excites no pregnant ideas in the mind, and suggests no lines of thought beyond those which the professor himself pursues. The lecturer may be amusing, rhetorical, superficial; but he must not be profound or suggestive; for depth excites thought, for which the hearer has not time, and suggestions call up associations, which distract and absorb. If the professor is to teach the large class, by the excitement of which he is to be stimulated to exertion, he must content himself with the delivery of a lecture either written or *extempore*, and must presume upon the attention of his hearers. If he proceeds with a continuous line of argument, he will

speedily become unintelligible to some. If he guards against the evil by repetition, he will become tedious to others, and, very likely, without attaining his end of making all keep pace with him. Any catechetical exercise in his lecture-room is, of course, simply impossible; for even if it were compatible with his dignity to arouse the slumbering mind of the student by a well-directed question, such conduct on his part would be regarded as an undue interference with his pupils' freedom. His hearers claim the privilege of giving their attention or not, as they think proper. They feel that the function of a lecturing professor is to disgorge information, which they may swallow as they will, and must digest as they can. He has no machinery by which he may elicit his pupils' thoughts upon the subject on which he is treating, for the purpose of correcting them when wrong, or developing them when right. He is, in truth, merely a living book, a speaking text; and with this great disadvantage, that the utterances of the paper are heard but once. What student would wish to be dependent for information upon a manuscript, the characters of which vanished as rapidly as his eye glanced over them? Yet this notion of a fading text is but the analogue with respect to the eye of what the lecture is to the ear. But if the true object of education be the formation of the mind, so as to enable it in after-years to form correct judgments, and to acquire knowledge for itself, this notion of regarding it as a vessel, into which a certain amount of information is to be poured, cannot be accepted as the correct one; and if it be incorrect, then it follows that the professor cannot educate by any system of lectures, let his eloquence and learning be what they may. He may communicate his knowledge to a mind trained for its reception; but he cannot so train it. He may burden the memory; but he cannot form the judgment.

The object of lectures orally delivered [writes Professor Pusey] is simply to convey information. They presuppose that the mind is already formed. The mind is simply a recipient. It digests, at most, at some subsequent time (if it ever does), what it then receives. For the time its faculties are mainly employed in grasping and remembering what is imparted to it. It can only, at most, and that on the easiest points, exercise a rapid judgment, in passing, on what is proposed to it. If the lecture be new to the hearer, or at all taxes his powers, all his efforts are employed in retaining a portion of it. He has not (as in the case of catechetical teaching) to compare any thoughts which he may have formed with those of a maturer mind. The mind is passive, not active. But this in itself involves a very inferior exercise of the intellect. The mind is, at most, stored, not sharpened nor enlarged. The process is, in a very inferior degree,

the same as in mastering a text-book. For only in the text-book [illegible] inferior, but the mind, from the unbroken flow of the delivery, cannot pause on what is more difficult or more important, if anything be not mastered at the moment, at first. There is no time for reflection. If the mind pauses to reflect, it loses what follows. The difference of the intellectual benefit between the cursory attendance upon a *delivered* lecture on the one hand, and, on the other, that repeated and renewed effort and strain of mind in mastering again and again the more thoughtful passages of a solid book, then surveying the argument as a whole, and then again musing upon its more subtle and weighty parts—or, again, its minuter excellences, or its obscurer points,—will be estimated by any one who will reflect upon the process at any time in his own mind. It is incalculable. Even in this respect the lectures of professors are as a study, inferior to their written books. Nay, the more valuable the lectures are, and the more they contain, the greater is the loss that they are simply lectures. The *student* works over, again and again, every more salient or important passage of the author who is the object of his study. The *hearer* bears away with him not the matter of the lecture, but his own first impression of it. He has nothing else to fall back upon. It has, I suppose, not been unusual for more diligent English hearers to hear a second time any course of lectures in which they were much interested, in order to supply what had been lost in the first hearing. But even this circuitous process, in which a person hears the whole course a second time, in order to obtain more accurately some more important or abstract matter, which, after all, he hears in the same fleeting manner as before, is far inferior to the repeated study of the same solid book.

Complaints are sometimes made of the existence of what is technically called *cramming* among our students. The extent to which cramming exists is perhaps overrated. Yet it is certain not only that it does exist to some extent, but that it must exist under any system of teaching in which the examinations to which the student is subjected are conducted wholly by printed papers. But with a teaching professoriate, instead of our present system of catechetical instruction, this vice would be enormously increased. For what is cramming but the accumulation in the mind of the student of dislocated items of information, the relation of which to his previous knowledge, and to each other, he has never understood, and which, when examined, he produces in a chaotic mass? Under the tutorial system this tendency to acquire crude information, without estimating its bearing, is kept continually in check by the constant catechising to which the student is subjected. He knows that he is liable to be called to account, as it were, at any moment. And, in consequence of his being so liable to

be required to exhibit the state of his knowledge on the subject under treatment, his judgment, as well as his memory, is kept in constant exercise. He must reason while he remembers. But under a professorial system of teaching, or rather of listening, the student is subjected to no such pressure to arrange and assimilate his stores. He is left to gratify his taste for accumulation. And the result is that, if he be of industrious habits and of but average ability, he *crams*.

Even supposing the improbable case, that the mind of the student who hears the professor is already formed, that he can give an uninterrupted attention to the lecture, and that he exercises his judgment upon its subject-matter; still there is reason to conclude that the benefit which he can obtain from it is much less than that which he would derive from the careful perusal of a printed lecture on the same subject by the same author. For it is probable that the thoughts which the professor commits to the perpetuity of print will be more carefully weighed than those which he flings to the fleeting utterance of the lecture-room. And it is certain that the lecture, such as it may be, cannot be appropriated in its totality by the hearer. At the most he can but secure its main points, and trust to his memory for the arrangement of the *disjecta membra* contained in his note-book. It follows, then, that, for purposes of study, the student secures by his notes a very indifferent book, from the perusal of which he can derive but a very hazy notion of the professor's lecture. What Cambridge professor would be willing to see himself exhibited to the world in the guise which he wears in the note-book of even the most intelligent among his hearers? The very thought of such an exhibition being possible would be enough to freeze his most flowing periods. Yet the picture is the photograph of the professor as he impresses himself, under the most favourable circumstances, upon the undergraduate mind; and, so far as he is a lecturing professor, it is the only thing about him worth estimating; *cætera quisquilia omnia*. What varieties of caricature the majority of his hearers carry away it would require the dreams of a Fuseli to shadow out. Some limb may perhaps remain from which a professor, who is the Hercules of his subject, may be recognised by a connoisseur; but it is to be feared that in many cases the skill of an Owen would be required for the reconstruction of the specimen.

It is true that in Germany, the fatherland of the teaching professoriate, books have actually been printed from lectures delivered. The historical lectures of Niebuhr could, from the mode of delivery, be taken down by the student with such minuteness that they could be published with various

readings.* The hearers, in fact, became amanuenses of the professor for the time being, writing as he dictated. This is by no means an isolated case. In Perry's *German University Education* it is stated that now 'professors dictate their lectures in such a manner that they *can* be taken down almost word for word. The studious amongst the listeners ask for this in order to carry away some of the lecture. A story,' he tells us, 'is current of a German professor at Marburg who went so far in his desire to meet the wishes of the students, as to say, at the end of one of his sentences, 'Machen die Herren gefälligst ein Kommachen.—Here, gentlemen, please to place a comma.' 'Goethe,' he continues, 'also alludes to it in his *Faust*, where Mephistopheles, in the garb of Faust, is giving advice to a young scholar respecting his behaviour in the lecture-room—

> Doch euch des Schreibens ja befleisst,
> Als dictirt' euch der Heilig' Geist!

Of course where the end sought is acquaintance with things, as in chemistry, palæontology, and other physical sciences, and not with ideas and their logical relation, the actual presence of the professor cannot be dispensed with. In some of these sciences he must play the part of the master craftsman, who teaches with his hand as well as with his tongue; he must exhibit his processes as well as their results. In others he must illustrate his statements with actual specimens, which cannot be adequately described, and yet with which his pupils should become acquainted. But he is in these sciences rather the exhibitor than the lecturer—the hierophant than the sophist.

It has been customary for the advocate of the professorial system to attempt to excite a prejudice in its favour, by representing it as the old system of the University, and the collegiate system as its supplanter. Indeed, from the language sometimes used, a stranger to the history of our Universities might suppose that, many centuries ago, Oxford and Cambridge were intellectual Edens, tended and cultivated by a goodly staff of learned professors; but that, in an evil hour, superstitious individuals, instigated by the enemy of mankind, endowed colleges, whose chief business has been to convert the smiling paradise into a desert, and to keep the sons of *alma mater* from hearkening to the voice of wisdom crying in the schools. It would be out of place here to show the utter groundlessness of any such notion. When the enemies of the

* Dr. Pusey's evidence on the recommendations of the Oxford Commission, § 32.

collegiate system write the histories of the English Universities as they existed before they were enthralled by colleges, and unfold the catalogues of the professors who educated the students, the friends of that system may be called upon to apologize for its existence. Till then such apologies are superfluous. No doubt there was a school of learning at Cambridge before any college was founded, and we may dub its teachers, if we choose, with the title of professors; but they had, in truth, little in common with the lecturing professor of the present day. Master Gislebert and brothers Odo, Terricus, and William, who in 1109 revived the dying embers of our University by their lectures, were the prototypes of college teachers, rather than of University professors. Indeed, so far from being a modern innovation, the collegiate system of teaching, *i.e.*, the catechetical, was probably itself the earliest, as it is the best.

But even granting that a teaching professoriate preceded the collegiate system, and was replaced by it, does such a change in the course of our University argue a downward path, which must be retraced? And if so, how far, it may be fairly asked, are we to travel back? Will those lovers of an imaginary antiquity be satisfied if we repeal the Union and annul the Act of Settlement, or must we restore the Heptarchy? If age is to be the test of value, why should we rest in the miocene period of professors, which they fancy existed? Why not go back to the eocene period of Master Gislebert and his worthy monks? In fact, the use of this plea of antiquity argues somewhat of short-sightedness on the part of those who urge it. For, if the professorial system had the advantage of precedences, and was found so wondrously effective, how came it to give place to any other? Surely if it had been superior, or even equal, to its antagonist, it must, having the prestige of establishment in its favour, have held its ground. The real truth of the matter is, that the literary circumstances of the times under which the system of teaching by lectures, orally delivered to large classes, flourished and declined, were wholly different. When hundreds gathered round the professor's chair to drink in from his lips the words of knowledge, there was no other means of acquiring information open to the student. Teachers were few; learners were comparatively numerous and poor. Hence the effective superintendence of the tutor could not be generally obtained; and the student was driven to pick up his knowledge amid a crowd. Moreover, printing was not invented. Consequently books were scarce; so scarce as to be almost, if not quite, beyond the reach of the ordinary candidate for distinction in the schools. Each student had, in a manner, to compile his own books; and the source whence

he could most cheaply procure the materials was the lecture-room of the professor. The indigent scholars, who made up the chief part of the professor's class, were no doubt often compelled, like the pupils of the Druids, to acquire all their knowledge through the ear. But the printing-press revolutionized the literary world. Delivered lectures ceased to attract crowds of students. The man gave place to the book. The learner was no longer compelled to catch at the thoughts of his teacher, in the excitement of a public lecture. He could carry the teacher, as it were, to the privacy of his own study, and there enter into the fullest communion with him. He could recur again and again to the perusal, and, in a manner, question him as to his meaning. The multiplication of books also caused the multiplication of teachers. The tutor followed on the text-book. And the student was enabled to have not only the professor speaking to him through the book, but also, to aid him in comprehending that written word, the services of a matured mind, watchful against his misconceptions and capable of developing the author's thoughts. These were the causes of the decline of the system of professoriate teaching at Cambridge. The empty lecture-room of the professor is no novelty. The witty complaints, which Barrow, when Greek professor, used to make of the solitude to which he was abandoned, show that the causes were in full operation two centuries ago. And had we fuller records of the inner life of our University, we should no doubt have them witnessing that, even before that time, the function of teaching the undergraduates had departed from the professoriate.

It has been contended that under a professorial system of teaching the student must suffer. But the student is not the only sacrifice. A nobler victim suffers in the person of the professor himself. Inconsiderate as it is to attempt the restoration of a system which is likely to be attended with so little benefit to the pupils upon whom it is to be exercised, it is still more inconsiderate to trifle away the time and hinder the pursuits of one who should be engaged in extending the domain of his subject, rather than in continually exhibiting its well-known elements to uneducated minds. The modern professor should take his place among the generals of our literary army, and not among its drill-sergeants. His proper province is to lead, in his special department, and to represent that department to the world at large. He should be selected in consequence of his proved fitness for such a work, and, when selected, should not be fettered by paltry rules, or hampered by petty duties. His genius should enfranchise him. By in-

creasing the field of human knowledge—by winning some new territory from the unknown—he will do more for the University, and for those interests which the University should have most at heart, than if he charmed the ears of hundreds of school-boys, or burdened the memories of scores of students. By this way he will act most effectually even upon those loiterers about the threshold of knowledge. For he will teach their teachers. He will extend and adorn the field of his subject, and will, by revealing its hidden treasures of fertility, attract others to its cultivation, rendered easier by his labours. He will be the ocean from which the clouds will drink up their supplies, to let them in turn descend in fertilizing showers on the thirsty plains. Cambridge has some such professors—men of whom she may well be proud. Not men who sigh for the sickly excitement of a large class of half-educated students, but men who are urged on to exertion by the pure love of knowledge, and who have been endowed by Providence with marvellous powers to conduct them through their labours to success. On such professors every loyal son of the University will always look with pride. They are his glory and boast. And if, in the increase of the professoriate, the addition of such professors to our literary corps is contemplated, that increase will be hailed with delight. Only let it be clearly understood that the professor is to be elected, not for his general ability, or even for his extensive learning, or his exact acquaintance with the discoveries of others, but for his power of outstripping his fellows in the path of research which his genius has led him to select; and that, when so elected, he is to be permitted to follow the bent of his genius untrammelled, without being induced to try to wrest the education of our youth from those to whom it is now entrusted, and all college jealousy of the professoriate must disappear.

But it is time to return to the Report and its consequences. The Report, as has been stated, was presented in August, 1852. In the following November the Queen announced to Parliament that she had caused a copy of the Report to be transmitted to the University, and had called attention to it with a view to a deliberate examination of its recommendations. On the 12th December, 1853, Lord Palmerston, then Secretary for the Home Department, again called the attention of the authorities at Cambridge to the question of reform, laying down in his letter—

> some essential points with respect to which her Majesty's Government conceived that it would be the desire and expectation of Parliament, with a view to the public welfare, and to the extension of the

useful influences of the Universities, that plans of improvement should be entertained.

Among these essential points were the following, which more particularly affected the colleges:—

The establishment of such rules, with regard to Fellowships and to the enjoyment of other college emoluments, as might wholly abolish or greatly modify the restrictions which now in many cases attach to those Fellowships and endowments, and might subject the acquisition of such Fellowships and endowments generally to the effective influence of competition.

The establishment of such regulations with regard to Fellowships thus to be acquired by merit as should prevent them from degenerating into sinecures, and especially the enactment of a provision that, after Fellowships should have been held for such time as might be thought reasonable, as rewards for early exertion and distinction, they should either be relinquished, or should only continue to be held on condition of residence, coupled with a discharge of active duty in discipline or tuition, or with the earnest prosecution of private study.

The establishment of provisions under which colleges possessed of means, either particularly ample, or now only partially applied to the purposes of education or learning, might, in conformity with the views which founders have often indicated, render some portion of their property available for the general purposes of the University, beyond as well as within the college walls, and might thus facilitate the energetic prosecution of some branches of study, the importance of which the Universities have of late distinctly and specially acknowledged.

The second of these essential points is remarkable, as it enunciates in the most direct manner a principle which was only very indirectly, if at all, sanctioned by the Royal Commissioners, but which has since been continually assuming more and more prominence in the subject of college reform.

The bodies appealed to in this letter lost no time in expressing their opinions on the several points thus brought under their notice. It would be out of place to comment here upon their answers. Some of them justified, in most particulars, the existing state of things; while others, admitting the necessity of change, suggested projects of reform. In the opinion of her Majesty's Government, the 'views' thus expressed were probably not sufficiently 'mature,' nor the 'designs of improvement' proposed sufficiently 'enlarged' to 'satisfy the reasonable desires of the country.'

The Oxford University Act was passed in 1854. It was expected that a similar Act for Cambridge would have speedily followed; but public business of a more pressing nature than university or college reform again caused a temporary lull. The

questions thus raised, however, were not abandoned. The Home Secretary of 1853 became Premier. And on the 14th March, 1856, Mr. Bouverie obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the improvement of the University and Colleges of Cambridge. The debate upon the Bill did not excite much interest within the walls of Parliament. Except from those officially connected with the University there was little expression of opinion; and that little was not favourable to the existing state of things. The hostility of the honourable member who had the conduct of the Bill was avowed; and the language which he used made it clear that, so far as the Government could secure the point, the cleansing bath through which the Cambridge foundations were to be made to pass was not to be of rose-water. At the close of the session of 1856, the Cambridge University Act received the Royal assent; and by it the Bishops of Lichfield and Chester, Lord Stanley, Mr. Baines, Sir W. P. Wood, Sir Laurence Peel, the Dean of Ely, and Dr. Vaughan, were appointed Commissioners for the purposes of the Act.

The Act entrusted the colleges with the power of originating statutes for their government. But it also enacted, that if this power should not have been exercised to the satisfaction of the Commissioners before the 1st of January, 1858, it was to be lost. The Commissioners thenceforward were to possess the sole power of framing statutes. It may even be said that the colleges were deprived of their power of objecting as well as of proposing; for the Act required that, to prevent any statute proposed by the Commissioners from taking effect, two-thirds of the governing body of the college should, by writing under their hands, declare that in their opinion such statute would be prejudicial to the college as a place of learning and education. The power thus given to the Commissioners is even greater than it seems: for not only have they the advantage of a vote when the number of the governing body is not a multiple of three,—a matter of some importance where the governing body is small,—but all Fellows of the college who are absent from the kingdom, or incapacitated by illness from expressing an opinion, count on their side.

The opportunity thus afforded to the colleges of submitting their schemes of reform to the Commissioners was not lost. Several propositions were made to them by different colleges; and it is said that, in some cases, complete codes of statutes were submitted for their approval. An unexpected check, however, was soon put to such amateur attempts at legislation. On the 1st July, 1857, the Commissioners addressed a circular to such colleges as had sent them statutes, stating that the several propositions, which had been made to them by different colleges within the University, had suggested to them the

propriety of entering into a full consideration of the principles which might be generally applicable to all colleges, and that they thought it right, before entering in detail into the statutes of the several colleges, to lay before each college certain propositions which had presented themselves to their minds as capable of such general application. At the same time, they reserved to themselves the privilege of modifying the opinions thus volunteered, by stating that the propositions thus transmitted were not to be regarded as final conclusions, but only as indications of their views at that time. The propositions, which were entitled 'General Principles proposed for consideration,' embrace Masterships, Fellowships, Scholarships, and Revenues. Among other points, the colleges were informed that—

1. The Commissioners are of opinion that Fellowships generally should be thrown open to the competition of the whole University, after public notice and examination.

2. The Commissioners incline to the opinion that all Fellowships, without distinction of lay or clerical, should be tenable only for a limited period (say ten years from the time of taking the M.A. degree): but with an exception enabling Fellows (with the consent of two-thirds of the whole body of the Masters and Fellows) to retain their Fellowships beyond this period (and in such case without the obligation of celibacy), if holding any University professorship or public lectureship, or the office of tutor, assistant-tutor, lecturer, or bursar, within the college. Provided that there should be a limit fixed by the statutes of each college to the number of Fellows that may enjoy this privilege at one and the same time.

They think also that (supposing the above rule to be adopted) clerical Fellows should be allowed to retain their right of pre-option to college livings for a certain time (say *five* years) after the termination of their Fellowship, provided that they have taken orders not later than seven years after they are of the standing of M.A. But this right to be terminated by institution to any benefice (whether in the patronage of the college or not) exceeding the limit prescribed by the statutes as compatible with the tenure of a Fellowship.

5. They would further be disposed to suggest, that where a professor or public lecturer in the University, or a tutor, assistant-tutor, lecturer, or bursar, within the college, is allowed to retain his Fellowship in the manner above proposed (in clause 2), he should retain it for a limited period only (say five years), but with a power of renewal (once only) for a like period, with the consent of two-thirds of the Masters and Fellows as before: provided that, after ten years' active discharge of his duties as such professor, tutor, &c., he may (with the same consent as before) be permitted to retain his Fellowship for life, and, as before, free from the obligation of celibacy. But if he avail himself of such privilege, he shall not retain the right of pre-option to a college living.

The publication of the 'General Principles' caused at first some excitement at Cambridge; but the excitement rapidly died away. There was so little contrariety of opinion, indeed, on the merits of the scheme, that the very discussion of its details dropped. For although there were principles involved which in the abstract might have met with support, yet the concrete forms in which the principles were clothed by the Commissioners converted favour into dislike. Nor was the disapproval expressed upon the subject confined to the propositions. The conduct of the Commissioners, in thus apparently anticipating the time assigned to them for originating statutes, was condemned by many. They were accused of unfair dealing, in frittering away the time which the law had granted to the colleges for framing statutes; and they were blamed for enunciating their own views of reform, instead of discussing those submitted to them by the colleges.

Yet this blame was scarcely just. If the Commissioners had, as they conceived, discovered the true principles upon which college reform should be conducted, it was surely their duty to submit them, with as little delay as possible, to the test of public criticism. The mode, too, in which the propositions were enunciated, showed that their authors were not blindly committed to them. Public discussion was asked for. The opinions of those who were qualified by experience to pronounce upon the suggestions were solicited. And the Commissioners might, on their part, complain that the candour which they had thus exhibited did not elicit corresponding openness from those with whom they had to deal. If they were guilty of a technical error in propounding suggestions for consideration before the time allotted to the colleges had elapsed, they erred, they might contend, on the safe side. Such a plea has weight; and probably an unprejudiced judge would conclude that, though the Commissioners may have made a blunder, they must be acquitted of the crime of attempting to overreach.

The accusation of unfair dealing, in not discussing the codes of statutes submitted to them, must also result in an acquittal. Those statutes were constructed, in the main, on principles of which the Commissioners did not approve. There was consequently no place for the discussion of details. Besides, even if the Commissioners had devised no scheme of their own, and statutes had been submitted to them which met their approval, it would not have been wise in them to have given a hasty sanction. The interests of the colleges of Cambridge are knit so closely together, that any important change which takes place

in one cannot but influence the future condition of the rest. Had all the colleges, indeed, submitted their schemes of reform some months before the expiration of the time allotted to them for originating statutes, the Commissioners might have compared, balanced, and decided on the comparative merits of the different systems proposed. They would thus have been in a position to discuss each. But this was not the case. Some colleges sent in no propositions whatever; while others did not present their schemes until the time allowed them for doing so had nearly expired. All, who are familiar with the past history and present condition of the colleges, must be conscious that any legislation affecting those bodies is a matter of far too much importance to be hurriedly patched up; and therefore, to such, at least, the Commissioners may fairly plead that, had they accepted any scheme of college reform before they had received all the schemes likely to be submitted, they would have exposed themselves to the charge of not estimating at its due weight the greatness of the trust which Parliament had reposed in them.

On January 1st, 1858, the initiative passed to the Commissioners. No step, however, was taken by them to submit their views to the colleges till the following June. Drafts of proposed new statutes for Trinity and St. John's Colleges were then sent to the members of those societies, for the purpose of eliciting their sentiments upon the various points thus brought under their notice. In thus submitting the proposed statutes for discussion, and not for formal rejection or approval, the Commissioners must be allowed to have acted considerately towards those colleges; and, however the principles, which the suggested codes embody, may be combated, the conduct of their authors in subjecting them to free criticism should excite satisfaction. It gives ground for hope that no paltry fear of the charge of inconsistency will deter the Commissioners from modifying their propositions, should good cause for their doing so be shown.

The suggestion which was thrown out in the Commissioners' circular of July 1st, 1857, respecting the mode of electing to Fellowships, has been embodied in both drafts. It is proposed that each Fellowship shall be thrown open to the competition of all members of the University who have attained the degree of B.A., LL.B., or M.B., and whose standing after such degree does not exceed three years; and that the comparative merits of the candidate shall be tested by special examination. As this was one of the general propositions which the Commissioners announced in their circular as

capable of general application, we may conclude that they are prepared to recommend the same rule to every college on the University.

To persons unacquainted with the state of things at Cambridge, the recommendation that Fellowships shall be thrown open to public competition may seem so reasonable, that unwillingness on the part of a college to adopt it is not unlikely to be attributed by them to unworthy motives. Fellowships, it may be said, should be rewards of superior merit; and in no way can that superiority be so surely tested as by competitive examination. In spite, however, of the apparent conclusiveness of this reasoning, most persons who are familiar with the working of our system are strong in the conviction that the disposal of our Fellowships in any such way would not be beneficial, even to those colleges which have it in their power to hold out most attractions to the highest students; would result in the annihilation of the smaller foundations as educational bodies; and, what is of even more consequence than the flourishing or fading of those institutions, would be attended with most mischievous results to the students, and through them to learning itself.

This conviction of the impolicy of the proposed mode of filling the Fellowships, springs, it must be premised, from no dislike of the competitive principle. That principle has been long warmly espoused at Cambridge, and energetically acted on. Long before competitive examinations were employed to expose the incompetency of Government nominees to public offices, such examinations had been in vigorous working among us. They are the very life of our system. No pains have been spared to improve them. No labour is grudged to render them effective. So far as we could, we have gratified the wish

> That estates, degrees, and offices
> Were not derived corruptly; and that clear honour
> Were purchased by the merit of the wearer.

For fifty years, at least, the impartiality of the University examinations and of the college elections has been above suspicion. The Fellowships were rescued, at the close of the last century, from the grasp of patronage by the high moral feeling of the place; and since that time *detur digniori* has been the watchword throughout our ranks, when elections to Fellowships or Scholarships are in question. Nor is our award ever questioned. On the contrary, our disinterested conduct has been so fully appreciated by the public without, that our example has been pointed out and our success appealed to,

again and again, by those who are now striving to clear from the taint of corruption the honourable member as well as the honest elector, and to eradicate from our political system that form of bribery which, under the name of patronage, has filled our public departments with incapables. We may claim to have inspired Lord Stanley with the generous sentiments which he avowed upon the subject, when the competitive principle was less popular than it is at present;—all honour to him for his noble hardihood. We are the champions of this principle; and we are still as fully prepared as ever to work it out, even though its ultimate result should be, as its opponents forebode, the enfranchisement of men of education and the disqualification of ignorant legislators. Yet, with all this feeling in favour of the competitive principle, it is almost universally the opinion, in this its native place, that its application to the colleges, in the mode recommended by the Commissioners, would be well-nigh impracticable; and that, even if a machinery capable of working it successfully could be devised, its operation must necessarily be mischievous. To explain this seeming paradox requires a detailed statement of the present practice of the several colleges in filling up their vacant Fellowships, and of the different circumstances in which those foundations are placed.

Before making this statement, however, it may be well to note that most of our colleges are perfectly 'open,' and that the few, which are at present restricted as to the disposition of their Scholarships and Fellowships, are not only willing but most anxious that all restrictions should be removed. The gate of admission to the college will be thrown open as widely as possible. No matter where a student, desirous of winning a share in the benefits of our foundations, may have been born,—no matter where, when, or how he may have obtained the mental training necessary to fit him for our course of University study,—if he be willing to comply with the regulations which the college, as a place of religious education, lays down, he will be admitted among its members; he will be encouraged to compete for its rewards; and, should his circumstances be such as to need pecuniary assistance, he will be liberally assisted in the race of competition from its funds. Any one may thus become a Fellow in any of our colleges. The difference between the scheme proposed by the Commissioners and the method now followed by the colleges is simply this, that now competitors for Fellowships choose the ground which they will take up, and start for the goal, at the commencement of their college course instead of at its end.

The mode of filling up vacancies in the Fellowships differs

somewhat at the different colleges. At Trinity College, the Fellows are elected by examination, the competition being restricted to scholars of the college who have taken the degree of B.A., and who are under the standing of M.A. The election, it is said, depends solely on the result of the examination. At St. John's College, the competition is not restricted to the scholars; and the place of the candidate in the University Class Lists is understood to have a very decided effect in influencing the minds of the electors. At the smaller colleges, the practice of holding *bonâ fide* examinations for Fellowships has generally, if not universally, fallen into disuse. The performance of the candidates in the University examinations is taken as the best evidence of their literary excellence which can be obtained; and upon that evidence they are elected. It is almost unnecessary to state that the practice at King's College has been exceptional. Again, each college, which accepts the Tripos Lists as evidence of literary excellence, has its recognised standard. Some colleges, for example, require that a candidate, who claims a Fellowship on account of his mathematical acquirements, should have obtained a place among the first thirteen Wranglers; while others consider a twentieth Wrangler eligible. There is no vagueness, however, in the limit. It is well known at each college. So that a student, on the publication of the Class List of his Tripos, can at once pronounce upon his prospect of being elected a Fellow of his college.

The system of election pursued by the smaller colleges has been found to work most advantageously. All suspicion of unfairness, in estimating the comparative claims of candidates, is rendered impossible by the appeal to a University test; the test itself to which the candidates are submitted is the most searching which the University can devise; and the high character which it maintains among the students causes the decision of the examiners to be invariably acquiesced in by the examinees. One highly beneficial consequence of this state of things is, that the student, who fails in that test of obtaining the place which would render him eligible for a Fellowship, is not tempted to lose his time in preparing for further *imperfect* examinations in the same subject; but, at once dismissing from his mind the thought of obtaining the coveted prize, is induced to turn his attention to some other pursuits. So well, indeed, has the system worked at the smaller colleges, that some members of the larger advocate its introduction into their own societies.

Indeed, the practice of the smaller colleges in this matter, even when judged of *à priori*, must commend itself to all

true friends of learning. It is manifestly undesirable that the class of students who are candidates for Fellowships should be required to spend two or three years, after their Bachelor's degree, in preparing for an examination necessarily less perfect and comprehensive than that which they have already undergone. Examinations form an essential part of our College and University systems. They serve to direct the reading of the student during his undergraduate course; and they test his power of answering questions upon the principles and details of his subject in a succinct and accurate manner. That done, their function is accomplished; and their further intrusion upon the pursuits of the student is likely to do more harm than good. The repetition of any examination through which the student has passed with success, can only have the effect of hindering his progress; requiring him, as it does, to travel round the same field of knowledge, and to collect and lay up such portions only of the crop as he can reproduce on the instant. Even if the second examination were quite as comprehensive as the first, the undesirableness of its repetition could scarcely be questioned. But when a student has already, in the Senate House, been subjected to the most searching test which can be devised, and has there shown that he is competent to advance without further direction, it is insulting to subject him to an examination less perfect than that which he has already passed with credit;—it is mischievous to tie him down to a mode of study which, though it cramps his mind and dulls his energies, he must plod at, because such a mode of study, and such only, will serve him in the ordeal through which the Commissioners propose that he shall be made to pass before being allowed to obtain the coveted prize. The student who has achieved a high place in the mathematical or classical Tripos has won his spurs. He is entitled to point to that place as sufficient evidence of his attainments. And he should be encouraged to pursue his subject from the vantage-ground which the knowledge then shown by him affords, and not be harassed in the pursuit by being continually called upon to prove his capacity for entering upon it. He has earned the freedom of our literary corporation. Let him be treated as free.

There is another element in this subject which must not be overlooked. It is, of course, impossible to destroy the advantages which, even in Cambridge, the rich student possesses over the poor one. Wealth will always smooth the path of its possessor. Yet it should, surely, be the aim of a University to reduce, as much as possible, the disabilities under

which the student of limited means labours, and to make rich and poor compete for the prizes of scholarship upon equal terms. And this has been the aim of Cambridge. No student is ordinarily allowed to compete in any of our Honour Triposes who has protracted his period of study beyond a certain fixed limit. The only exception permitted is when he can prove, to the satisfaction of persons appointed for the purpose of examining into such cases, that his doing so has arisen from illness or some other urgent cause. Whatever be his wish to undergo a longer course of preparation for the Honour Examination, he cannot gratify it. Now, the scheme of the Commissioners runs directly counter to this principle. Under its operation the poorer man will be unfairly weighted in the race for a Fellowship, and must give place to his more fortunate antagonist. Take a probable case:—The third and sixth Wranglers of the same year, suppose, are candidates for a Fellowship at a college where there is a special examination for the prize. The third Wrangler is a man whose limited means, even when eked out by college aid, have barely sufficed to support him through his Undergraduate course. The sixth Wrangler has friends upon whom he can still draw. Leaving out of account the superior excellence which one of them has already proved that he possesses, they start, it may be thought, on equal terms. But, in truth, they are matched most unequally. The poorer man, while awaiting the college examination, cannot afford to devote his time to studying its eccentricities and preparing for its peculiar requirements. He must work for his support. If he continue to reside in the University, he must occupy the chief part of his time with the wearisome toil of private tuition; if he leave, he must betake himself to the office or the school. The hours which should be spent in recruiting his jaded energies, after the close of his day's labour, are all that he can afford to expend in preparing for this special examination. With the wealthier man the case is far different. He has no cares about his daily bread to distract him. He is not subjected to any drudgery, which may impair the elasticity of his mind, or dull its tone. He may explore at his leisure the stereotyped idiosyncrasies of his examiners, and may hire the aid of those who have a historical acquaintance with the type of paper which will be set before him. And thus he enters the examination prepared to exhibit a special knowledge, which, though of little worth in itself, enables him to carry off the prize from his abler antagonist. Even if the competition for Fellowships, in the proposed scheme, were limited to Bachelors of Arts in their first year of standing, the advantage which the richer student

would have over his poorer rival would be very great. But that advantage becomes enormous when the competition is extended to all Bachelors, whose standing does not exceed three years. The poor student has but *three* years' preparation at the University for the Fellowship Examination; his wealthier competitor will have *six*. Are the Commissioners prepared to inflict this heavy blow on deserving poverty? The question is not now, whether indigence shall be allowed to make up for a deficiency in scholarship? it is, whether the rewards of scholarship shall be made impossible of attainment by any but the rich? The colleges are asked to sanction a scheme, which must place every candidate for a Fellowship, who cannot support a six years' course of University study, at a cruel disadvantage; and to reserve their Fellowships for those who, after their Bachelor's degree, can pay for a fresh three years' course of private tuition. There is, happily, little doubt that the colleges will refuse their assent to such an unjust provision. The Commissioners profess a desire to assist students of limited means. If they are in earnest in their professions, they will not sacrifice to this shadow of the competitive principle its substance, but will rather recommend the abolition of those Fellowship Examinations which still survive, and the adoption of the University Class Lists as the sole literary tests.

It has been alleged in palliation of a Fellowship Examination, that it gives to the student who fails in the Senate House an opportunity of retrieving his position. The excuse is worth little. Granted that a student may sometimes thus retrieve his position; what right has he to do so at the expense of his fellow-students? Are we to impose toil and cost on a whole class because one of the class has been unfortunate, in order that the unlucky one may have another chance? Why should the many suffer for the few? Such endeavours to counterplot Providence should be left to those who have more sensibility for the pangs of a lap-dog than for the sufferings of a fellow-creature.

But, even supposing that Fellowship Examinations by individual colleges were simply harmless, how do the Commissioners suppose that they are to be carried on? How is each small college to organize a staff of examiners which shall be capable of sitting in judgment upon the mathematical attainments of a Senior Wrangler? Yet it is within the limits of possibility that under the proposed system such an adjudication may be required, and therefore the possibility must be provided for. Are the college examiners merely to register the decision of the Senate House, or are they to amaze them-

selves and the University by reversing it? When the University and College verdicts disagree, which is to give place to the other? Under the proposed *régime* we may expect to see a peripatetic school of students who, when access to the Fellows' table is denied them at one college, will hurry on to the next; are we also to have peripatetic examiners, who shall follow them in their three years' wanderings, and, like Chinese imitations of the Cherubim at the gates of Eden, flash an examination paper before their eyes when they attempt to force their way into the college paradise? Such an institution would, no doubt, have its advantages. The experience of the examiners, for instance, would be prodigious. Their knowledge, too, of the mental infirmities of the subjects upon which they operated would materially lighten their labours. And, as they would have the privilege of examining the more stupid of the candidates some dozen times at least, they might tabulate for future meetings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science a few interesting statistical results respecting the intellectual state of men suffering under a chronic attack of preparation for examination.

At present the elections to Fellowships are above suspicion. They are regarded by the electors as the fulfilment of a trust, not as the disposal of a piece of patronage. This healthy tone arises in a great measure from the weight which is given to the University Examinations as literary tests. In former years, when each college had its special examination for Fellowships, complaints of unfair dealing were sometimes made; and were perhaps not always made without cause. Traditions have come down to us of Fellows having been selected for other than their literary qualifications, even by those who could judge of such qualifications most ably. Such abuses are of the past; and so long as the present high moral tone prevails among the electing bodies, there is no danger of their being revived. But who can say how long that moral tone will prevail under such a pressure of temptation as the colleges will be subjected to by the action of the proposed scheme, if the Commissioners can succeed in forcing it upon us? Fraud is the natural resource of the weak against the tyranny of the strong. And when the members of a college feel its well-being perilled by their being forced to introduce into their body some stranger who acquits himself best in their special Fellowship Examination, they may be induced to make that examination so special that a candidate not trained in their own lecture-room can have no chance of success. Public opinion at Cambridge, which is in many points but another name for college feeling, would in a few years deal leniently

with the offence, and the moral taint would rapidly spread. In fact, if the Commissioners were disposed to tempt the smaller colleges to job their elections, they could not have hit upon a more ingenious device for the accomplishment of their purpose than the one which they propose.

The evil of replacing the present system of elections to Fellowships by special competitive examinations manifests itself no less strongly when the colleges are regarded as educational institutions. If a small college now needs a classical or mathematical teacher, its Fellows invite a competent member of another college to join them and fill the post. Under the proposed system, this will be no longer in their power. A mathematical student may stand first in the Fellowship Examination at a college, where it is of the greatest importance to obtain a Fellow who can fill the office of classical lecturer, or *vice versâ ;* yet the candidate who is not wanted to assist in carrying on the education of the students must be chosen in preference to the one who is. It may be said that, in such a case, the electors would be justified in stretching a point and giving the preference to the man whom the college needs. But, if so, what becomes of the principle of electing according to the results of the special examination? If the stretching of points is once permitted, who can foresee where it will end? It is surely wiser to adhere to a system, which enables every college in Cambridge to provide itself with a competent educational staff from amongst its own Fellows, than to enter upon one which, if fairly carried out, will make the existence of an effective band of teachers in each small college a mere matter of chance.

Some ardent lovers of change may reply, that it is of little importance whether small colleges continue to educate students or not. A sufficient answer to this mode of meeting the argument might be constructed from the confessed advantages which competition among the colleges for high places in the Class Lists has produced, in elevating our standard of excellence, and in affording to our students the means of improving all the opportunities for acquiring knowledge which the University offers. This competition has resulted in time and money being freely given to push forward a deserving candidate, in whose success the college anticipates the addition of another jewel to its crown. But it is really unnecessary to discuss this question of the advantage or disadvantage arising from the competition of several distinct educational bodies in the same University. It has been already decided by a higher tribunal. The Cambridge University Act not only states one of its objects to be the 'maintaining and improving the discipline and

studies . . . of the University of Cambridge and of the *colleges* thereof,' but it prevents the Commissioners from forcing any statute on a college which in the opinion of two-thirds of the governing body will be 'prejudicial to the college as a place of learning and education.' The Commissioners, therefore, can have no intention of devising measures for diminishing the educational efficiency of even the smallest of our colleges. And any statute framed by them which can be shown to have that effect will, no doubt, be withdrawn without even the formal declaration against it being required.

Under the present system of election to Fellowships, those who take the higher places in the Triposes are very fairly distributed through the several colleges. Consequently, there is a good standard of ability preserved in each. But let the proposed system take effect, and such of our colleges as present less attraction to candidates for Fellowships will soon be filled with mediocrities. While Trinity will be panting under a plethora of talent, Queens' will be pining in an atrophy. Is this one of the results for the attainment of which the manifest mischiefs of the proposed system of election are to be tolerated? A member of a small college may be allowed to plead, in arrest of the threatened judgment, that it is really of more advantage to learning that those who are capable of sustaining a higher literary tone should be distributed throughout our colleges, than that they should be concentrated in one.

The only argument which has been alleged for interfering with the present system is, that under it members of small colleges obtain Fellowships, while men of higher standing in the Class Lists, who are members of the larger colleges, sometimes fail. That such cases have occurred is freely admitted. But what then? Does the occasional occurrence of such cases call upon us to abolish a successful system? Are the disappointed candidates of sufficient worth to warrant us in putting in peril the well-being of all the colleges in Cambridge? Gems may be bought too dear. And even such precious jewels as students who are not good enough for Fellowships at Trinity and St. John's, may be purchased at too high a price. A tenth Wrangler at either of these colleges occasionally fails in obtaining a Fellowship; while a fifteenth Wrangler at a small college succeeds. But is the difference in merit between a tenth and a fifteenth Wrangler sufficient to justify us in revolutionizing the colleges, and replacing the present tried and approved system by the unfair and mischievous one of special examination? Are we to remedy the imaginary grievance of the tenth Wrangler, who has been short-sighted

in his choice of a college, by inflicting a real grievance upon the nine men who have excelled him? A real grievance it will be, if, on his account, those nine men are to be subjected to a special mathematical examination before admission to their Fellowships,—an examination which may be crotchety, and which must be confined. It is a principle of English law that nine criminals should escape rather than that one innocent man should suffer. The doctrine which is to be imposed on us at Cambridge maintains that nine men of proved literary merit should be subjected to toil, expense, and loss of time, in order that one man of less merit than any of them may obtain a chance of benefit. Is this then to be the principle of our reforms? The sacrifice of the many good to the few less good—of excellence to mediocrity! And all under the notion of giving merit its due meed! How true is the French maxim that the better is the enemy of the good!

It may be objected, of course, that although our present system secures the election of every student whose accomplishments render him a desirable acquisition, yet that such a result is entirely dependent on the will of the electors, and that no guarantee is given to the public that the elections will continue to be made with the same fairness as they have hitherto been. It might be considered sufficient to reply, that the high moral principle which has succeeded in purifying the elections from all taint, may be trusted to preserve that which it has won; and that compulsory statutes on the subject are consequently needless. Still, as the advocate of fixed laws may plead, that no time is so well adapted for legislation as when the moral tone is high, since that by judicious enactments then made the tone may be kept from sinking, it might be wiser for the colleges to satisfy the *doctrinaire* by some concession upon this point. Of course no provision for regulating the Fellowship elections can be considered even open to discussion which inflicts the grievance of a special examination on the student, or hinders the society from supplying the educational needs of the college. Yet perhaps it might sufficiently meet the requirements of the Commissioners and protect the interests of the colleges and of their students, if each small college, taking the University Class Lists as tests of literary merit, were to fix by college ordinance the limits within which candidates were to be considered eligible to Fellowships, and were prohibited from rescinding that ordinance and fixing a fresh limit without the consent of two-thirds of their whole society, given after due notice. If it were thought needful, the assent of the Visitor himself to any alteration of the limit might be required. In the case of a college wishing to elect

a candidate below that fixed limit, yet to do so as an exception to its general rule, the electors might be required to submit a statement of the candidate's qualifications to their Visitor, and to obtain his sanction before proceeding to the election. Further, after Fellowships had remained vacant for a certain time, to be definitely fixed by statute, the colleges might be required, in default of fit candidates from among their own members, to fill the vacancies from members of other colleges, either with or without special examination as they might think fit. This provision of a fixed limit is suggested, not because of its necessity, but that those who are not conscious of the jealous care with which each small college at Cambridge guards its Fellowship standard, may be satisfied by the expression of unwritten custom in written law. The imposition of any greater restriction in the choice of college electors than this must work prejudicially to the society. Of course it is presumed that all statutable restrictions limiting the choice of the electors will be removed, so as to allow any college to invite members of other colleges to become candidates for its Fellowships. Such restrictions may be advantageously given up in every case, whether the college wishes to select its Fellows by special examination or not. Let the Commissioners leave the choice of the electors as unfettered as possible. The sense of responsibility deepens with the increase of freedom.

Before leaving this question, some reference may be deemed necessary to the custom of election to Fellowships now prevailing in the sister University, and to the arguments founded upon it. It is the present practice, or, to speak more correctly, the profession, of the colleges in Oxford to fill their Fellowships by persons chosen after special examination ; and hence it is sometimes argued that, as the system has succeeded at Oxford, it must also succeed at Cambridge. But this conclusion rests on false premises. It is not true that the system has succeeded at Oxford ; it is but now in the course of trial, and the fruit which it will produce is still to be gathered and tried. At a few colleges, indeed, in that University, the practice of election upon examination has prevailed for some years with happy results. But it must not be forgotten that during those years most of the colleges in Oxford were 'close.' In some a system of nomination to Fellowships prevailed ; in others literary qualifications were scarcely taken into account even in profession. The more highly educated students, consequently, were driven to the open colleges for Fellowships, the doors of their own being closed to them. How far that which has succeeded in the exceptional case will succeed generally, yet remains to be seen. Again, at Oxford a special

examination is necessary to settle the relative merits of candidates; for their Class Lists are arranged alphabetically, not, like ours, in order of merit. Colleges, too, at Oxford, are circumstanced with respect to each other very differently from those at Cambridge. There no one college out-tops the rest; all are nearly on a level; consequently any system is likely to affect all alike. But at Cambridge the case is very different. The wave which kisses the feet of Trinity would overwhelm one of its humbler neighbours. These differences render it unsafe to argue from the present of Oxford to the future of Cambridge. But, even if the circumstances of the Cambridge and Oxford colleges were the same, we must decline to transform ourselves after their model, and to replace our tried and approved system of election by their paper constitution. We have no desire to be made the *corpus vile* even of an Abbé Sièyes, much less of his disciples. We live at Cambridge under a pure and free system of election to Fellowships,—a system which is the healthy growth of our soil, and which has intertwined itself with all our institutions,—and we will not exchange it for the plant, however beautiful to the eye, which Oxford has planted. To ask us to do so is about as reasonable as it would be to invite Englishmen to exchange their time-honoured constitution for the theoretically perfect system of government by which some country, in its first ardour of revolution, has replaced a despotism of centuries.

The Commissioners, in their circular of July 1st, 1857, represented themselves as 'inclined to the opinion that all Fellowships, without distinction of lay and clerical, should be tenable only for a limited period,' except in the case of certain College or University officers. This inclination seems to have ripened into a settled purpose. The conditions of exception stated in the circular have received some material modifications, but the principle itself holds its ground. Their matured judgment is exhibited in the following draft of one of the new statutes proposed to Trinity College:—

Of the Conditions of Tenure of Fellowships.

Every Fellow hereafter elected shall vacate his Fellowship (whether in holy orders or not) at the end of ten years after attaining the full standing of Master of Arts, except in the following cases, namely:—

First. Every Fellow who shall at the expiration of such period of ten years be actually holding any professorship or public lectureship in the University, or the office of public orator, librarian, or registrar in the same, shall be allowed to retain his Fellowship so long as he holds such professorship or public lectureship, or such

office in the University, but no longer; unless he shall be further empowered to retain it under the provisions hereinafter contained.

Secondly. Every Fellow who shall at the expiration of such period of ten years be actually holding the office of tutor, or assistant-tutor, or bursar in the college, and shall have actually held such office or any of such offices for the space of at least *two* years before the expiration of such period, shall be allowed to retain his Fellowship so long as he shall continue to hold such office, or any one of such offices, but no longer; unless he shall be further empowered to retain it under the provisions hereinafter contained.

Thirdly. Every Fellow who shall have actually discharged during the space of ten years the duties of tutor, assistant-tutor, lecturer, or bursar, or of any one of such offices, or of a professor or public lecturer in the University, shall be at liberty to retain his Fellowship thenceforward, whether resident or not, unless he shall vacate the same under the other provisions of these statutes.

Fourthly. Every Fellow not included in any of the above classes may be permitted by a special vote of two-thirds of the master and *sixteen* senior Fellows of the college, and with the sanction of the visitor, to retain his Fellowship on account of his literary or scientific reputation or labours: provided that not more than *four* Fellows of the college be allowed to enjoy this privilege at the same time. Such Fellows to forfeit the privilege so conferred on them if they cease to be resident in college.

Every Fellow hereafter elected shall vacate his Fellowship upon marriage, except in the following cases, namely:—

1st. If he holds any University professorship or public lectureship, or one of the three offices in the University above specified.

2ndly. If he be one of the three tutors of the college (or, if there be more than three, one of the three who have longest held that office in the college), and has discharged the duties of tutor or assistant-tutor in the college for the space of not less than ten years.

Any Fellow who shall have served the University or the college for a period of not less than *twenty* years in one of the offices of professor, public lecturer, or tutor, may, by a vote of not less than two-thirds of the master and sixteen senior Fellows, and with the sanction of the visitor, be allowed to retain his Fellowship after ceasing to hold such office, even though married, as a mark of distinction in consideration of eminent services rendered to the college or University; but the number of Fellows so retaining their Fellowships in virtue of this statute shall never exceed *four* at one time.

No married Fellow shall in any case reside in college.

The principle of the limitation of tenure, on which the foregoing proposals are based, is one which has excited much controversy. The Commissioners have been urged by its advocates, on the one hand, to adopt it as the only sound basis for their reforms; while, on the other hand, they have been denounced for doing so by a large party, who maintain

that all the evils of unlimited tenure are tolerable, and that as a system it has worked well. Yet, whatever praise or blame the Commissioners deserve for adopting the principle, and endeavouring to enforce it, they are not answerable for its promulgation. For the mode alone in which they propose its application can they be justly held accountable. 'It deserves to be noticed,' says the Cambridge Report, 'that all the colleges in Cambridge, which have been founded since the Reformation, required in their original codes that the Fellows should cease to derive any advantage from the college after a limited time.' The time fixed for vacating Fellowships in Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex Colleges, which were exclusively clerical foundations, was the standing requisite for the degree of D.D., or twelve years from M.A. In both these societies, however, the restriction was removed soon after the foundation. Why, it is impossible now to ascertain. The advocate of unlimited tenure, of course, attributes the change to a felt necessity; while the advocate of limitation describes it as 'the ordinary encroachment of private interest on public ends.' The statutes of the modern foundation of Downing College limit the tenure of the lay Fellowships to twelve years, and, while making an exception in favour of the two clerical Fellows, ordain that they shall reside in the college two-thirds of the Michaelmas and Lent terms, and the first half of the Easter term, under a penalty of the forfeiture of one-half of their yearly stipend. These statutes distinctly enunciate the principle that 'the lay Fellowships are only designed as a temporary assistance to those who are in the active pursuit of the professions of law and physic.' Lord Palmerston's letter has been already mentioned. A part of the fourth point of that letter was—

> Especially the enactment of a provision, that after Fellowships should have been held for such time as might be thought reasonable, as rewards for early exertion and distinction, they should either be relinquished, or should only continue to be held on condition of residence, coupled with a discharge of active duty in discipline or tuition, or with the earnest prosecution of private study.

The Cambridge University Act, too, seems to look in the same direction. Among the purposes enumerated for which the colleges are empowered to frame statutes, is one—

> For making fresh provision . . . . respecting the duration and conditions of tenure of such Fellowships and emoluments, so as to ensure such Fellowships and emoluments . . . . being retained for such periods as are likely to conduce to the better advancement of the interests of religion and learning.

So that the Commissioners can shelter themselves under these authorities on the point, when they find their other defences giving way.

In truth, the principle of limited tenure of Fellowships has never wanted advocates. It appears in the categories of ancient University reformers, as well as of their modern successors. It constitutes, for example, one of the 'Articles for the Reformation of the two Universities,' drawn up in 1715 by Dean Prideaux, at the request of Secretary Townshend, where it appears, together with many other reforms which have since been effected, in the following guise:—

Whereas all the colleges in the said Universities are, in their institution, seminaries to breed up those who shall be there admitted for the service of the public, and yet several, who have gotten to be elected into Fellowships, or students' places, in the same, not regarding the ends of this institution, do live upon the said Fellowships, or students' places, a dronish and slothful life, passing away their time idly and unprofitably, without endeavouring to qualify themselves for any public service, either in church or state. That, for the preventing hereof, it be ordered, for the future, that no person in either of the said Universities shall hold any Fellowship or student's place in any college therein, for any longer term than till he shall be full twenty years' standing, from the time of his first matriculation into either of the said Universities; but that, at the said twenty years' end, every such Fellow, or student, shall, of course, become superannuated, and be removed out of his Fellowship, or student's place, except he be a public professor, or lecturer, or upper or under library-keeper, or keeper of the archives, or register of the Convocation, or judge of the Vice-Chancellor's Court, in either of the said Universities, or be a minister of one of the churches within the towns of Oxford or Cambridge, or the suburbs of the same; and doth constantly, in his own proper person, serve the same.

That, for the maintenance and support of such superannuated Fellows or students, who, in twenty years' time, shall not have qualified themselves for any public service, there shall be an hospital built in each of the said Universities; towards the building of which, all the colleges, in each of them, shall, in proportion to their revenues, contribute till it be fully finished; which shall be called *Drone Hall*, where all the said superannuated Fellows or students shall be admitted; and to every one of them twenty pounds *per annum* shall be allowed for the maintenance and support, by the college where they have been Fellows or students, it being fitting that this burden should be laid upon them, as a just mulct for their having bred up the said superannuated person to be good for nothing.*—*Life of Prideaux.* London, 1748, p. 208—10.

* In the copy, in Queen's College Library, from which the above extract is taken, there is appended to the Articles, in the handwriting

Although, however, this question of limited tenure is of long standing, yet it does not appear to have as yet met with the full discussion which its importance demands. It has been put forward not only as a panacea, but as a panacea which carried its own recommendations on its front, and required no testimonial in its favour. It has been opposed with as little show of reason. Its advocates seem to forget that Fellowships fulfil other purposes besides serving as prizes to the successful competitors for University honours; while its opponents overlook the fact that, even in the present state of things, the tenure of no Fellowship is unconditional, and that the restrictions imposed upon most Fellowships practically limit the tenure of them to many of their holders. The question is confessedly one of difficulty; but its discussion cannot now be avoided, for it has been propounded by the Commissioners to the colleges in such a form that judgment must be given upon it one way or other. The patronage, too, under which the proposition of limited tenure comes, renders it necessary that its demerits should be plainly set forth before it can be safely rejected. In pronouncing, therefore, upon the proposition, the colleges will do well to remember that the tide of opinion, which out of the University seems setting in favour of limited tenure, can only be effectually stemmed by a clear exposure of the mischiefs which would result to learning from its indiscriminate application.

In discussing this subject, it is of the greatest importance to bear in mind that Fellowships fulfil other purposes besides serving as prizes, as a forgetfulness of this is at the root of all the erroneous views propounded. Fellowships, it is true, act as prizes. But they also act as partial endowments to the college tutors and other officers, and thus serve to lighten the charges laid upon the student. They act, moreover, and occasionally most beneficially,—and this is a purpose to be especially borne in mind,—in maintaining altogether in the University a leisure class of ripe students, who could not without such aid devote their time to the advancement of learning. No doubt, to persons not intimately acquainted with the actual working of our system, it may appear that the sole use of a Fellowship is to serve as a reward for the student who has achieved success in the Class List. And hence it is pardonable in such persons to conclude that the end and aim of all college reforms should be to mete out the reward as

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of the Rev. D. Hughes, Fellow of the College, the note—'Alas! almost all these Rules are much too rigid for y^e^ virtue of y^e^ present Times.—1748.'

accurately as possible, giving just so many years' stipend as may sufficiently encourage the man who is toiling for a place in the Tripos. Those who are better informed ought to know that, so far from this actual meting out of rewards being the sole object to be considered in our legislation, it is doubtful if it should be even the chief. It is certainly important that industry and ability should meet with their just reward. But it is surely as important that a literary class should be retained in the University, not only for the purpose of supplying competent persons to superintend the education of the students, but also to furnish those who, undistracted by the toil of tuition, may devote their time to promote the interests of such branches of learning as the bent of their genius leads them to follow. It is to this literary class, not merely to the tutorial part of it, that we must look for our future editors and authors. It is there that we may expect our philosophers to grow, and our professors to be formed. Any legislation, therefore, which may affect this class, must be entered upon with extreme caution. It is not sufficient to legislate for the interests of such of them as take part in college work. The student of retiring habits, who is not fitted for public duties, must also be cared for. At present, Fellowships, besides rewarding success in the schools, and aiding in the support of a staff of tutors, secure to the service of learning a leisure class endowed with ability and willingness to work in its behalf. These purposes are so good in themselves, so advantageous to the public, and so necessary to the well-being of the University, that the colleges may reasonably demand that, in every scheme of reform, provision shall be made for furthering them.

Now, it is a well-grounded subject of complaint at Cambridge, that the mode in which the Commissioners propose to deal with Fellowships makes no provision for the maintenance of this leisure class. They seem to have looked upon Fellowships solely as rewards for successful study already completed; and, consequently, they recommend that the tenure of all Fellowships shall be limited to ten years from the M.A. degree. It is true that they make an exception in favour of those who are engaged as tutors or lecturers in conducting the education of the students, or as bursars in carrying on the business of the colleges; and even to these classes the inducements to remain at Cambridge are dealt out with a very niggard hand; but they make no exception whatever in favour of such Fellows of the College as desire to devote their lives to study. Now, to a man who wishes to cultivate the higher branches of learning,

no boon can be so acceptable as a competent provision, the tenure of which can be terminated by his own act alone. The studies which he is pursuing are not appreciated by the public at large, and are, consequently, unremunerative. In a commercial point of view, the labours of the mathematician and the philologist are worthless; for they will fetch nothing if offered for sale. Even journals upon such subjects cannot be made self-supporting. If, therefore, such studies are to be encouraged, competent men must be enabled to pursue them;—enabled by a provision not merely doled out for a set number of years, and then withdrawn, but which shall continue until their worth and labours win them one of the few posts in the University or the country in which a philosopher or a scholar may earn his bread without drudging in a school. It will be an exceeding hardship to a man, who is content to give up the prospect of worldly advancement and gain for the pleasure of quietly advancing the outworks of learning, but who has neither inclination nor opportunity to engage in the active business of his college, to be considered as a burden upon its funds, and, in consequence, to be treated as a mere terminable annuitant, whose pittance after a few years must be withdrawn. If the individual himself, however, were likely to be the only sufferer, the college reformer, strong in the axioms of sociology, might contemplate with serene satisfaction the victim of science crushed under the wheels of the car of progress. But the mischief cannot be so limited. Learning itself must share the misfortunes of its votary. It is not safe to count upon men of studious habits being always destitute of common sense. Even a mathematician may have foresight. And it is unreasonable to expect that, in this commercial age, any Fellow of a college, who is not gifted with private fortune, will be silly enough to devote himself to the unremunerative pursuit of knowledge, while the prospect of the withdrawal of his sole means of support, continually haunting him, warns him to think of the morrow. Will he not, almost of necessity, be driven away from the University to provide for the years of famine which are in store for him? Those who watch the course of events at Cambridge can have little doubt that, if this proposal of the Commissioners, with respect to limitation of tenure, be accepted without modification, and be carried out without jobbing, the result will be the reduction of our resident body to the private tutors and the officials of the colleges and University. Such of the Fellows as are not employed in tuition will betake themselves to other walks in life, and will leave literature to those who can afford to pursue it. Each college will thus degenerate into a

grammar-school, which, however useful it may be as an educational institution, can scarcely be considered as the model to which a college should be pared down.

These objections to the limitation of tenure apply, it may be said, to the case of those only who are prepared to give up, for quiet study within the college walls, the advantage of a profession. The remark is true; and in behalf of such alone is the appeal made. That any one, who is not engaged in the business or studies of the place, but who has abandoned them to advance himself in the profession of his choice, should be permitted, in consequence of youthful excellence, to draw for life an income from college funds, provided he remain unmarried, is simply preposterous. The proposition, when plainly stated, carries its refutation on its face. Any argument to prove its absurdity must be a mere string of truisms. Ingenious sophisters, it is true, may elaborate pleas, and by explaining their founders' intentions, after the fashion in which Peter interpreted his father's will, may make it probable that the great object of college endowments was that a large class of non-resident Fellows should be supported. They will not be likely, however, to persuade unprejudiced persons that the property, which colleges hold in trust for promoting sound learning and religious education, is most fittingly bestowed in supporting the idleness or increasing the income of the professional man, who has exiled himself from the studies of the place, however in bygone years that man may have distinguished himself in our schools.

In thus denouncing the principle of non-resident Fellows being permitted to impose themselves as a permanent charge on college funds, it must not be supposed that the slightest censure is sought to be cast on any Fellows who now fall under that description. They used a liberty which was freely accorded to them by their colleges, and no blame can attach to them for having done so. The fault lies in the system itself; not in the results which the system has produced. Those results should be regarded as the victims of a vicious indulgence, which has paralysed their early efforts, and prevented them from attaining the position which their ability and energy, with due assistance, must have enabled them to win. Their vested rights have been preserved by the Cambridge Act. On moral as well as legal grounds they may claim that their rights shall be respected, and that they shall not be held accountable for abuses from which they themselves have been the keenest sufferers.

The fact, however, that permanent tenure has been abused, cannot be fairly alleged against its use within properly-

guarded limits. And, if the interests of learning require that college funds should be used not only to stimulate education, by holding out prizes to successful students, and to eke out the incomes of tutors and lecturers, but also to support a literary class, who may be enabled to devote the leisure thus purchased for them to the advancement of knowledge, the existence of abuses under the system of unlimited tenure should not deter the college reformer from modifying his scheme of limitation to meet such useful requirements. How, it may be asked, is this to be done? How is the presence of this literary class to be secured; so that we may be guarded on the one hand against the college being made a refuge for indolence, and, on the other, against the real student being driven from his retreat? The problem is not so insoluble as it may seem. Let residence be made the condition of permanent tenure, and the required effect will be produced. Idleness and self-indulgence among the resident body at Cambridge are now rare. They belong to a past state of things, few of the relics of which have come down to the present day. In this matter Cambridge must not be judged of by the past. The history of even the last fifty years does not fairly represent her present condition. And she may therefore justly claim that, in re-arranging her economy, the evils which have passed away shall not be allowed to blind the eyes of reformers to the intellectual activity which, almost without exception, marks those of her sons who make Cambridge their home. If each Fellow, at some period of his tenure, say on attaining the standing of M.A., were allowed to choose between a non-terminable Fellowship, to be held under the conditions of residence and celibacy, and a Fellowship of limited tenure free from those conditions, the college would be able to provide for the more studious class, whose proper home is within its walls, and to reward those who have no taste for the cœnobitic life and are eager to push their fortunes in the world. Of course the objection may be made that the system here proposed, of leaving it to the holder of a Fellowship to decide whether his tenure should be limited or not, would enable the indolent man to make himself a permanent charge on the college by simply making it his dwelling-place. The apprehended danger, however, on which the objection rests, is not very likely. When it is considered that the choice would lie between a celibate life, to be spent in the monotony of a college, and a tenure unconditioned, except as to time, by which an income would be guaranteed for a sufficient period to enable its possessor to establish himself in the profession of his choice; and further, that the alternative would be offered to men in the flower of

their age, of proved ability and high culture, and, from the circumstances of their position, necessarily of some industry; but little fear need be entertained that restraint would prove more attractive than freedom to those who have not a very decided bent for a studious life. Even if, however, such cases should occur, they must be rare;—so rare that we may be content to take them as the necessary admixture of evil which every practicable system contains. Absolute perfection is unattainable in social institutions as well as in mechanical contrivances; and it is as unreasonable to demand a Fellowship scheme, free from the possibility of abuse, as it would be to require a machine without friction. Even the solar system, according to a distinguished authority, contains planets which were spoiled in the making; a college, then, may be pardoned a few failures in manufacturing scholars and philosophers.

Some, no doubt, may ask, Why, if every system must have blots, the present system, which after all has not so many, should not still be tolerated? The responsibility, however, which has been imposed upon us by the legislature cannot be so easily shifted off to our successors. We must look projects of reform in the face, Most persons agree that some change in the conditions of tenure or Fellowship is imperatively called for and must be made. The question, then, is not whether there shall be change or no change, but what change will be most desirable. Ever since Fellowships have been conferred for distinction in the Triposes, the inequality of the prizes which the lay and clerical Fellows of the college have obtained has been felt to be a growing hardship. Few of the colleges, it should be remembered, allow to their lay Fellows a tenure beyond seven years from the M.A. degree. Some of them require all to be in holy orders in a much shorter time. Our foundations, in fact, were intended for the most part for clerics, and therefore it is not strange that their statutes should press harshly on those who feel no vocation for the priesthood. From a higher sense of the duties of the sacred office, a keener appreciation of its difficulties, or a preference for other walks in life, fewer of the Fellows than formerly are now inclined to take holy orders. It would be so manifestly unfair as well as prejudicial to the colleges to exclude from a share in their endowments all who did not intend to enter the clerical profession, that no college would probably entertain the proposition. The question, then, necessarily arises, How are the claims of the lay and clerical Fellows to be adjusted? Lay Fellowships, unfettered by the restriction

of residence and terminable only on marriage, are generally admitted to be undesirable. They are censured indirectly by the Royal Commissioners, who report that at Trinity Hall,—a college of all others where the lay element may claim to be encouraged,—it would be expedient to limit the tenure of the lay Fellowship to a term of years. In thus recommending a limitation of tenure they imply a consciousness of its necessity. Nor is such a consciousness remarkable. It must spring up even from a cursory reference to so common a book as the *Cambridge Calendar*. Any person, by comparing the Electoral Roll of the University with the *Cambridge Calendar*, may satisfy himself that of the laymen on the foundation of the different colleges, who have held their Fellowships more than ten years from the time of their M.A. degree, no fewer than 28 are non-resident; and further, that the average tenure from the time of M.A. of those 28 Fellows has been twenty-four years. When it is stated that, of those 28 two only are members of St. John's and Trinity Colleges, and that in many of the other colleges laymen of that standing could not be Fellows, the consequences which would follow on permission to the Fellows of all the colleges in Cambridge to retain their Fellowships as laymen so long as they should remain unmarried, may be imagined. There cannot be many who will maintain that a twenty-four years' tenure from M.A. is fairly balanced by any place in the Class Lists, even with a self-denying devotion to celibacy thrown into the scale.

But supposing it admitted by all that the tenure of non-resident lay Fellows should be limited, we must expect the lay Fellow to inquire why his non-resident clerical brother should not be weighed in the same scale. He may even ask why the mere taking of holy orders, without entering on ministerial duties, should entitle a Fellow to have his stipend continued. The reply may be made that the clerical Fellow has devoted himself to a profession from which there is no escape; that the many secular paths to fortune are closed to him; that the income which he can earn as a curate is paltry; in fact, that he needs support, and therefore must be supported. The obstinate querist may again ask why the cleric has so devoted himself without counting the cost, and why college funds should be employed to tempt men to undertake a sacred office in which they may be idle if they choose? So far as college funds are concerned, a sufficient answer to this question is, that those funds were mainly given for the support of persons in holy orders; and that, therefore, those who are willing to follow the path in life pointed out by the founders

of colleges, have a claim upon the college property which those who decline to comply with the conditions imposed by founders cannot urge. The querist may be silenced; but when the interests of the Church are taken into account, his questions suggest very grave considerations. However advisable it may be for the Church to buy a share of the ability of the country; and whatever weight may be given to the principle so strongly advocated by Sydney Smith, that recruits gained to the ranks of the clergy by the offer of tempting bounties may prove valuable soldiers in the ecclesiastical army; still all friends of religion must see that this principle may be pushed too far. It is but reasonable that the man who enters on the pastoral office should be sustained amid the privations of his earlier years by the hope of securing a competency before age weakens his energies. It may even be well for religion that the inclinations of men of great mental endowments should be influenced by the prospect of the prizes which the clerical profession holds out. But is it well that any man should for a term of years be provided with an adequate income, and, after that term has expired, should be compelled to choose between losing that income and taking up a sacred profession for which he feels no liking, and which, if he think lightly of it, will entail on him no fresh duties and impose no fresh restraints? In many the temptation to secure a competency, even at the expense of conscience, must be strong; and though many have manfully resisted it, yet some must have fallen. It is true that our college livings do not now present such a lamentable picture of the self-indulgent pastor and the neglected flock as they have done in former years. The sense of clerical responsibility has increased throughout the country; and it would be strange if college incumbents were the only ones who remained callous. Yet still every one must be aware that even now our system drives into the clerical office men, whose ministrations are irksome to themselves and distasteful to their parishioners. Those who set the highest value upon material inducements must confess that such compulsion is undesirable. It is also unnecessary. For if the pressure thus brought to bear upon college Fellows to induce them to take holy orders were removed, the college livings would still remain to influence their inclinations, and would, no doubt, be sufficient to draw into the service of the Church many of the leading minds of the University; while we should escape the reproach of placing men in a position in which they are induced to seek the priest's office, that they may *continue* to eat a piece of bread.

The proposal, then, of the Commissioners to put the tenure

of the lay and clerical Fellows on the same footing must commend itself to an unprejudiced mind as wise. Nor need any danger to the interests of the Church be apprehended from its acceptance by the colleges. The legitimate influence, which the prospect of preferment exercises to induce men to enter her service, will still exist, while unfair pressure will be withdrawn. Any men whom the Church may fail to secure as pastors by such a settlement may be dismissed to other professions without regret. The loss of such hireling service is not deplorable. If, then, it be advisable to allot the same tenure to the lay and clerical Fellows, and if it be necessary that the tenure of the non-resident lay Fellow should be limited, it follows that a limitation must also be put to the tenure of the non-resident clerical Fellow. An appeal, indeed, has been made to public pity against doing so, on the ground that it is cruel to deprive clerical Fellows in middle life of their Fellowships, such Fellowships being commonly their only means of support. But is there good ground for such an appeal? It is cruel, and not only cruel, but unjust, to deprive any man, whether clerical or lay, of an income which he has been led to expect he shall be allowed to enjoy without interruption; but is there any cruelty in conferring a temporary benefit on a clergyman, if he be duly apprised beforehand that the benefit is only temporary? To conclude the affirmative would imply that the circumstance of a man's taking holy orders destroyed his power of distinguishing between the temporary and the permanent. In reply to the appeal, the advocate of reform may contend that rather it is cruel, and more than cruel, to perpetuate a system which, when the tenure of the lay Fellow is drawing to a close, and his professional prospects are causing him to apprehend that he has mistaken the path to success, continually whispers that, if he will but feign a vocation which he does not feel, the competency which is about to pass away shall be secured to him, and the cloud which darkens his future dissipated. The really strong plea which may be urged on behalf of the clerical Fellow, on the ground of founders' intentions, may be met by the reply, that all claims on that ground would be satisfied by adopting the plan suggested above, viz., the giving to each Fellow an option between permanent tenure on the conditions of residence and celibacy, and limited tenure free from those conditions. It was, no doubt, the intention of the benefactors to whom we owe the foundation of Fellowships, that these Fellowships should be mainly held by clergymen, who were thus to be secured time and opportunity for sacred study, and for the performance of Divine offices within the college; but

it was as certainly their intention that those who enjoyed the benefits of their foundations should make the college their home. If, therefore, an opportunity be afforded to the clerical Fellow to comply with his founder's wishes, he cannot fairly ask for more. Nor is there much in the plea that non-resident clerical Fellows are generally engaged in parochial work, and therefore should be excused from residing. Desirable as parochial work is, it should not be allowed to absorb all our clergy. There is need of the doctor as well as of the pastor in our Church. By sacred study, pursued within the college walls, the clerical Fellow may aid the cause of religion as effectually as by labouring in the crowded city or the mission-field; while by such study he will more strictly comply with the intention of his founders, and will more effectually accomplish the purpose which they wished to secure.

There is another point in this subject, not so important as that just mentioned, but still important enough to be taken into account. At many of the colleges the number of livings in the college gift is not sufficient, at present, to provide a fair succession to parochial charges for such of the Fellows as are in holy orders. It is not likely that the number of livings in college patronage will be increased. Consequently, the only way to meet the evil is to diminish the number of applicants for them. Now, in order that a clerical Fellow who obtains his fellowship at twenty-two years of age may succeed to a college living at thirty-four, the number of livings in the college gift should be about double the number of the expectants of them, supposing all the clerical Fellows to wait for college livings. This is a ratio which prevails in few of our clerical foundations. Therefore, if future Fellows are to succeed to college livings at a moderately early age, the number of the clerics must be diminished. The Commissioners propose 'that any Fellow in holy orders, who shall have vacated his Fellowship by lapse of time or marriage, and shall have taken orders before his Fellowship was so vacated, and not later than seven years after he was of the standing of M.A., shall be entitled to claim, for the space of twenty years after that he was of standing to take the degree of M.A., the same right to succeed to a vacant living, by virtue of his seniority, as if he had still continued to be a Fellow of the college.' That the twenty years might not pass over without giving a Fellow, so circumstanced, an opportunity of exercising the right thus reserved to him, the number of benefices in the patronage of the college should not be much less than the number of claimants for them.

The end aimed at by this proposal is admirable. Every friend

to religion must have heard with sorrow the stories that are told of the way in which the richest livings in the patronage of colleges have been filled from generation to generation; and the Commissioners deserve the gratitude of all churchmen for suggesting a provision which may have the effect of diminishing the evil. Constituted as colleges are, they must almost universally act on the principle of presenting the senior claimant to any office in their gift. The alternative lies between doing so and exciting factions in the society. Consequently, succession by seniority has long been the rule, in presenting to the college benefices. So that, even though age and infirmities should have unfitted the senior clerical Fellow at a college from filling, either with credit to himself or advantage to the Church, the vacant living, yet it is offered for his acceptance, lest his exclusion might make a precedent. At one of our colleges an attempt was made to prevent this course of proceeding, by an express statute, requiring the Master and Fellows in the strongest manner to choose one of their number for the vacant benefice, *quem maxime statuent esse idoneum*. Happily for the peace of the society, by a beautiful adaptation of means and ends, on the vacancy of any living, the senior Fellow, who is willing to accept it, is found to be of all the society the fittest to fill it. It is unreasonable, however, to expect that such remarkable adaptations should occur at all colleges; and therefore it is desirable to interpose some check against the overwhelming influence of seniority.

The provision suggested by the Commissioners should be extended to all classes of Fellows, those who, in consequence of holding college or University offices, have not vacated their Fellowships, as well as those who have; so that no one should have a right of pre-option for more than twenty years from M.A. To guard, however, against a possible case of hardship, it is desirable to enact, that if no opportunity of exercising the right of pre-option to a college living, thus secured to a clerical Fellow, shall have occurred in the twenty years specified, his right shall not lapse until after such an opportunity had presented itself. It is also desirable that the term allotted to him to qualify should not be so long as seven years from M.A. Such a term, in nearly every case, would not expire before the Fellow in question had entered on his thirty-second year; and a man in his position ought to have decided long before that time upon his vocation. Within two years from M.A., or three at most, he may be fairly called upon to pronounce on his future course; and it is no kindness to him, and certainly none to the Church, to allow him a longer time for the exercise of vacillation.

It has been objected, that if the tenure of Fellowships be limited, their value will be so much diminished, that they will lose their attractiveness, and students will cease to compete for them. But there seems to be no ground for any such apprehension. The Fellowships at Trinity and St. John's Colleges are sought by some of our best men, with the deliberate intention of vacating them by not taking holy orders at the prescribed time. And if the term, upon which such candidates may count on being permitted to enjoy their Fellowships, be lengthened, as is proposed, it seems unlikely that their attractiveness will be diminished. Indeed, if the tenure of all Fellowships, resident as well as non-resident, were limited, it might safely be asserted, that there would be always competent candidates for honourable sinecures of 250*l.* a year, even though the enjoyment of such sinecures should be limited to ten years from M.A. But if such Fellowships be made potentially non-terminable up to M.A., by permitting each Fellow till that time to choose between a permanent tenure with the condition of residence and a limited tenure free from such condition; and if, in addition, the chooser of the limited tenure be freed from the restriction of celibacy, there is every reason to expect that such terminable Fellowships, so far from being deemed despicable prizes, will be looked on with special favour. Some have imagined that they may prove too attractive, and have opposed the establishment of them upon that very ground.

In the preceding sketch of a possible system of limited tenure the opinion has been advanced, that all holders of terminable Fellowships should be released from the restriction of celibacy. This opinion is now rapidly gaining ground at Cambridge; even those who are opposed to any change in the present system of tenure, confessing that the removal of the celibacy restriction must follow, almost as a necessary consequence, the establishment of limited tenure. The mode in which the Commissioners propose to deal with the subject has, consequently, given satisfaction to none. They may have thought that, by taking a middle path, they should at least secure safety. But the path of their choice lies between the van of an advancing army and the rear of a retreating one, so that they run the risk of exposure to the weapons of both. The defenders of the existing system have a strong distaste to limited tenure; the reformers are dissatisfied that limited tenure should be hampered by mediæval restrictions. This dissatisfaction is but reasonable. Limitation of tenure results from that view of a Fellowship which regards it solely as a prize for a place in the Class List. Now an in-

tention to remain unmarried, for a certain number of years from the M.A. degree, forms no part of the qualifications for such a place, nor is it a consequence of the course of mental training which results in success in the Tripos. Such intention also is no evidence of sound faith or of correct conduct. Since, therefore, the qualifications for this prize of a Fellowship of limited tenure, which is nothing more than an income guaranteed for a fixed time, are totally independent of the will or the power of the person who obtains it to remain unmarried, it is unreasonable that its value should be diminished by attaching to its enjoyment such an arbitrary condition. If ten or twelve years' enjoyment of a stipend of 250*l.* per annum be the fair reward for literary success, it is absurd to say that such reward should be forfeited by marriage. For, however much the Commissioners may be disposed to regard celibacy as evidence of a virtuous state of mind, they can scarcely go the length of looking upon marriage as evidence of a vicious one. In truth celibacy, considered in itself, and not with a view to any beneficent purpose which it may subserve, has ceased to be deemed meritorious. In our colleges it is looked upon solely as a means to secure a certain end, viz., a regular succession to Fellowships; and if that end could be secured without such a restriction, there are very few indeed who would maintain that the restriction should be still imposed as good in itself. Limitation of tenure provides for this regular succession, and, therefore, enables us to reward the successful student who chooses the limited tenure, without forbidding him to marry. Of course, so long as the tenure of Fellowships remains unlimited, difficulties about succession and residence render it desirable that the celibacy restriction should be retained, as a means of indirectly limiting that tenure. But so soon as a direct limit is fixed, all indirect limitation becomes unnecessary. Let the question be plainly put. Is the senior Wrangler who intends to marry when he is thirty years of age, worthy of a less reward by 1000*l.* than one who is willing to remain unmarried till he is thirty-four? This is not an unfair way of stating the question; for the limitation of tenure of the Fellowship, supposed to obtain in the case of both these men, necessarily excludes their Fellowships from being regarded in any other light than as adequate rewards conferred on them for moral and intellectual worth. But it is asserted that the celibacy restriction answers the purpose of a disqualification on account of the possession of property. That it does so is very questionable. Every one, who has known Fellows of colleges, must have known cases where Fellows married before they were in possession of such an amount

of property as would disqualify them from holding Fellowships. It would be strange, indeed, if it were otherwise, since in nearly every college there is a property disqualification, and therefore, if the Fellow who married had been in possession of sufficient property to disqualify him, he must have ceased to be a Fellow as a celibate. The only possible case in which the marriage and the possession of the disqualifying income can synchronize is where he obtains the income by the marriage; and then the property disqualification would of itself vacate the Fellowship, supposing the celibacy restriction removed. But, even if the restriction act as a property disqualification, it is unnecessary; since such disqualification may be far more satisfactorily imposed by a separate statute, which shall press alike on all Fellows, whether marrying men or votaries of celibacy. Such a statute is proposed by the Commissioners in a clear and definite form. If, then, a Fellow of a college possess sufficient property to disqualify him under that statute from holding his Fellowship, he should vacate his Fellowship whether married or not. If the nature of his income be not such as to bring him directly within the statute, the fact of his marriage ought not to do so indirectly, because some persons imagine that matrimony is a luxury in which only Fellows of property indulge. This defence, then, of the imposition of the celibacy restriction on Fellows of limited tenure cannot be accepted as valid, and no other has been put forward. Upon some vague hints which have been thrown out on the desireableness of preventing young Fellows of colleges from marrying, it being apparently presumed that such young Fellows are, from their education and social position, peculiarly liable to be made fools of, it may be sufficient to remark that, however anxious we may be to keep those silly moths from the flame of Hymen's torch, arrangements for doing so can scarcely be satisfactorily made until Socialism is established at Cambridge and the colleges are converted into phalansteries. Will it, one may ask,—will it in a few years be conceived credible that either Commissioners or colleges should maintain that when a young barrister is elected to a Fellowship of limited tenure, as a reward for his literary excellence, he ought not to be permitted to enjoy it, except he be willing to receive it as a retaining fee in the cause of involuntary celibacy? The Church of Rome is known as the great patroness of the unmarried state; yet, ardent admirer as she is of it, she is not so silly or so wicked as to purchase the celibacy of those who deny that they have any vocation for that state. It will remain for colleges reformed under Protestant auspices to transcend their Popish antecedents, by making to each of their terminable Fellows the an-

nouncement, 'At the expiration of your tenure you may marry; till then we bind you over under a penalty of 250*l.* a year to remain an involuntary celibate.'

But it has been said, 'Men in the position of Fellows of colleges seldom marry before four-and-thirty, and therefore there is no hardship in the proposed restriction.' The assertion is probably correct. So far, however, from the fact asserted being favourable to the imposition of celibacy restrictions on Fellows of limited tenure, it tells quite on the opposite side. If the end sought to be gained be the effect of ordinary causes, it is surely unnecessary to seek to produce it by extraordinary restrictions; and if unnecessary, then it is mischievous. Useless restraints, unfortunately, serve the purpose of irritating those upon whom they are imposed. On this account the celibacy restriction will be felt to be a grievance by the Fellow of limited tenure, even though he should entertain no intention of availing himself of its removal. There is yet another advantage in adopting a free policy upon this point. In consideration of the additional value conferred on the Fellowship by the removal of this restriction, its tenure might be somewhat shortened and the number of prizes consequently increased. Perhaps a tenure of eight years from the M.A. degree, freed from the conditions of residence and celibacy, might be deemed a sufficient reward for early success.

In dealing with the celibacy question, in the case of college tutors, the Commissioners have made some concession to the requirements of human nature. They propose that the three senior tutors at Trinity College, and the two senior tutors at St. John's, shall not vacate their Fellowships by marriage, provided that each before marriage has discharged the duties of tutor or assistant-tutor for the space of not less than ten years. The Commissioners are perhaps more candid than Laban, but they are more exacting. This concession of theirs is small; and yet it is even less than it appears at first sight. Not only does it prevent marrying in haste, but it also provides abundant leisure for repentance. The tutor who, having completed the decennial period of service which entitles him to the luxury of a wife, uses his privilege of marrying, is to hold his Fellowship only so long as he holds his tutorship. And as the tutors are to continue to hold their offices during the pleasure of the Master and seniors, the tenure of Fellowship of the married tutor is thus made dependent upon the pleasure of the governing body. This provision is at once discouraging to the tutor, and likely to prove mischievous to the educational interests of the college. It discourages the tutor who wishes to devote himself to teaching as a profession, since it

makes him, in the case of his marriage, a kind of tenant-at-will for his whole income, Fellowship as well as tutorship. It is likely to work prejudicially to the educational interests of the college, because, in the event of a married tutor becoming ineffective, the governing body will naturally be disinclined to deprive him of his tutorship, since their doing so will deprive him of his Fellowship as well. These apprehended evils, it may be urged, are incompatible, and therefore the objection stands self-refuted. The evils, however, are not incompatible; they belong to distinct classes. The evil in the tutor's case will arise from the uncertainty of his position; and this uncertainty he must still feel, even though examples of negligence on the part of governing bodies should continually occur to reassure him. He is too much interested in the experiment to take a philosophical view of its probable result. Still, the probable result of the experiment will not be affected by the morbid view of its unfortunate subject; and thus it may be anticipated that the interests of the college will suffer by the indulgence, which will be extended in practice to the ineffective tutor, while the effective tutor will not be reassured. It is true that a haven of safe anchorage for the toil-worn Benedict is proposed by the Commissioners; but it is a very little one; and its entrance is so blocked with rocks that no married tutor can entertain a reasonable hope of reaching it. The proposal to Trinity College is—

> That any Fellow who shall have served the University or the college for a period of not less than twenty years, in one of the offices of professor, public lecturer, or tutor, may by a vote of not less than two-thirds of the Master and sixteen senior Fellows, and with the sanction of the Visitor, be allowed to retain his Fellowship after ceasing to hold such office, even though married, as a mark of distinction in consideration of eminent services rendered to the college or University; but the number of Fellows so retaining their Fellowship in virtue of this statute shall never exceed *four* at one time.

At St. John's College the number so privileged is not to exceed three. One point with respect to these proposals which at once suggests itself is, that, should they be accepted by the colleges, the primary accomplishment to be considered in the wife of a future professor, public lecturer, or tutor, will be skill in canvassing. The virtuous woman, who can count electioneering tact among her good qualities, will be both a crown to her husband, and a retiring pension.

The discouragement which the educational interest meets with at the hands of the Commissioners is not limited to the case of married tutors. Vestals in the tuition are not alto-

gether overlooked in the distribution. It is proposed that every lecturer who, at the expiration of ten years from M.A., shall be actually holding office, and shall have held it for *two* years before, shall be allowed to retain his Fellowship so long as he continues to hold office, but no longer, except his term of service amounts to ten years. All hope consequently of obtaining the aid in the lecture room for a few years of the junior Fellow, who intends ultimately to devote himself to a different walk in life, must be abandoned. Let the exigency be what it may, the college will feel that it is unfair to tempt the Fellow of limited tenure to sacrifice to its educational efficiency a few of the years allotted him to establish himself in life. None will venture to become lecturers but those who mean to follow that pursuit, whether they find themselves fitted for it or not, such of them as prove inefficient trusting to the kindly sufferance of the governing body to being allowed to complete the decennial term, which shall emancipate them and their pupils. On the part of the governing body, strictness and laxity will be alike disastrous to the college as a place of education.

These evils would be avoided by legislating upon that view of the purposes served by Fellowships which has been put forward in the earlier part of this Essay. Of the purposes mentioned two are involved in the settlement of the present question, viz., rewards for early success, and partial endowment for college teaching. If the latter purpose be admitted, it follows that the fact of a Fellow of limited tenure taking part in the college tuition should not deprive him of the reward which he has already earned by his place in the Class List. Consequently, any number of years during which he discharges the tutorial office should not count in the term of his tenure. Thus, a Fellow who has accepted the condition of limited tenure, and who immediately after his M.A. degree enters on the office of college lecturer, and fills that office for any number of years, should, if he then vacate it, resume his limited tenure as if he had only just taken his M.A. degree. Such an arrangement as this seems just and simple. It is based on intelligible principles, and looks likely to work. The temptation to abuse it would be slight. And even the possibility of its being misused might be guarded against by limiting the number of lecturers on whose behalf the college should be empowered to suspend the running out of the tenure. Two at each small college, and six at each of the larger ones, would probably be sufficient. If they were thought to be so, these limits might be fixed by statute.

But something more is still required. According to the

proposal of the Commissioners, a married tutor, on retiring from his tutorship, may retain his Fellowship by a kind of re-election. Now, all re-elections are essentially vicious. If they do not sink down into mere formalities, they must produce obsequiousness, jealousy, and a host of other mischiefs. The proposal for their introduction constitutes the very weakest point of the Commissioners' scheme; for it manifests most clearly their inexperience of the inner life of our colleges, and consequently their want of acquaintance with the machinery which they desire to bring into play. If the married tutor who has spent twenty years in the service of his college is in any case to be permitted, on his retirement from office, to retain his Fellowship as a retiring pension, he ought to be permitted to do so in every case; provided that he gives up his right of preoption to any office or benefice in the college gift. The term of service necessary for the acquisition of such a privilege might, perhaps, be extended with advantage a few years beyond the twenty which the Commissioners speak of. But, exclaims an objector, such a permission would impede the succession. A little consideration, however, will show that the effect on the succession, if any, would be scarcely appreciable. Whatever changes take place in the colleges, it is likely that the tutorships will be still filled mainly by clergymen. It is needless to specify the causes which render this event probable; they will suggest themselves at once. Now, so far as tutorships are filled by clergymen, the succession would not be at all affected by the permission proposed. At present the clerical tutor generally vacates his Fellowship and tutorship at the same time by the acceptance of a college living. It is by taking such a step that he is enabled, to use the common phrase, 'to settle in life.' But if, instead of vacating his Fellowship upon marriage, he were permitted to retain it, and so could pass the living, which hitherto has been his only path to freedom, that living would descend to his juniors, some one of whom would create the required vacancy among the Fellows by accepting it. And thus the succession would be unaffected by the liberty granted to the tutor. Under any new system the result must be the same. It is true that in the case of a lay tutor being thus pensioned, as it were, a vacancy in the Fellowships would not occur; but such cases would be very rare, and would probably happen under circumstances in which the lay tutor would be well deserving of a retiring pension. Considering, too, that each clerical Fellow is provided for by his college for life, in the earlier part as a college Fellow, in the later as a college incumbent, few can grudge to

a lay Fellow worn out in the service of his college the small stipend of a Fellowship, even though, as a tutor, he should have committed the crime of marriage.

The benefit, likely to arise from giving the clerical tutor the option of retiring upon a college living or upon his Fellowship, would not be confined to the tutor-class. The University, the colleges, and the Church would be all gainers by it. The colleges would gain by retaining some of their senior residents, who, from their experience and age, might be expected to shed a valuable influence over their several societies; an influence, be it noted, which all college conservatives are most anxious to preserve. The University would gain by keeping within its precincts a learned class, who, released from the drudgery and cares of tuition, would no doubt devote their time to the cultivation of literature or the conduct of University business. While the Church would gain from its benefices being filled by younger men, who, in consequence of their youth, could more easily adapt themselves to the parochial requirements of instructing and sympathising with the uneducated poor. Our system is certainly a strange one in some respects. We select from among the Fellows of colleges some who have more especially distinguished themselves in our Triposes. We entrust them with the education of our students, and consequently require them, if they would do their duty to their pupils, to occupy their minds chiefly with the study of the classics, or of the abstract sciences. While they are so entrusted we hold them in bondage to a conventual system which was abandoned by the Church and nation three centuries ago. And as a fitting coping to the fabric, when their faculties have ripened so that they are able to develope the branches of knowledge which they have been teaching, and when their experience of the human mind has taught them the best method of imparting knowledge, we dismiss them from our lecture-rooms to the spiritual charge of three or four hundred ignorant rustics, with whose modes of thought they are not familiar; with whose feelings they cannot sympathise; in whose language they can scarcely express themselves. Having sharpened our swords, we thrust them into the grass, and leave them to rust, assuring ourselves that, because our predecessors did so, therefore our practice is good.

Strange as the system may seem, it numbers many supporters. Its defenders maintain that, in spite of its apparent defects, it has worked well for the interests of education; that by subjecting the tutor to the restrictions of a quasi-conventual life, in which his pupils share, his influence over

them is more effectually secured; that if a tutor were allowed to marry, his domestic ties would so entangle him as to render him unfit for the discharge of his public duties; and that, so far from mature age and experience being desirable qualifications for the office, 'a college tutor, whose business it is to understand young men, and to obtain influence with them, should not, as a general rule, be much over forty years of age.' The advocates of change, on the contrary, contend that, so far from the system having worked well, it has scarcely worked at all; for that, if it had, the teaching of the undergraduates would not have passed into the hands of private tutors; that the common life of the college tutor and pupil, to which so much is attributed, consists chiefly in the latter being occasionally present in hall and chapel at the same time as the former; and that to attribute any especial influence to such conjunctions is to romance, since the influence of the tutor must arise from the respect which his character and position inspire in the mind of the pupil; that so far from domestic ties unfitting the tutor for his public duties, the increased feeling of responsibility which such ties must excite would give strength and earnestness to his character, and would spur him on to greater exertions in behalf of his pupils, whose success would be so closely bound up with his own; and, finally, they refuse to admit that any man, whether college tutor or not, who makes it his business to understand young men, and to obtain influence over them, and has succeeded in ever accomplishing his aim, loses the power which he has acquired at forty years of age. In every controversy untenable positions are taken up on both sides. The defenders of an old system feel themselves driven to paint its defects as beauties; while its opponents refuse it credit even for the virtues which it has been proved to possess. The collegiate system forms no exception to this rule. It has been lauded by its friends and abused by its foes, as if it were the deliberate construction of wisdom or of folly, instead of being merely, as it is, a relic of a past phase of conventual life, which the tastes of our Virgin Queen led her to preserve from the general wreck of monasticism. Into a comparison of the merits of a celibate and married staff of college tutors it must be unnecessary now to enter. The whole question of official celibacy was discussed and decided three hundred years ago. And all modern disquisitions on the subject must partake largely of the character of a schoolboy's theme, and would probably have but little other effect than that of causing those, who are made the victims of them, to regret that their authors had not an opportunity of propounding them at a time when the subject

was *sub judice*, and when they might have affected its decision. The only fair way of judging the present system of celibate tutors is by its results, and not by any course of *à priori* reasoning. When these results are examined, it is seen that the system is neither so ineffective nor so effective as it has been the fashion to represent it; that though it has not encouraged the services of men of matured experience, yet that it has continually enlisted supplies of youthful energy; and that though it has not destroyed private tuition by rendering the aid of the private tutor unnecessary, yet that it has corrected many of the evils which are connected with the undue use of that aid. Still, after giving it all the credit which is its fair due, and after paring down the exaggerations of those who argue for its demolition, there remains the dull hard reality, that in consequence of the restrictions imposed on the college tutor's freedom, the attractions which the office holds out are not sufficient to induce able men to devote themselves to it as a profession,—and that in case of any tutor determining to regard the office as anything more than a mere temporary occupation, which is to fill up his vacant time until he can obtain some permanent settlement, he must make up his mind to lead a life of loneliness, and must look forward to a childless old age. Such cases of self-denial have occurred, and may therefore occur again. But they are exceptions. In general, 'the tutor has no stimulus to exertion beyond his own conscience; let his success be ever so brilliant, the termination of his career is not likely to be affected by it. The expected living drops at last, and, idle or diligent, learned or ignorant, he quits his college, and is heard of no more.'

It may be pleaded that the repeal of the celibacy restriction, in the case either of tutors or of Fellows of limited tenure, would be a breach of the founder's intentions, and therefore should not be permitted. This plea will not bear examination. Before the Reformation, Fellows of colleges were celibates because they were in holy orders—not necessarily priests and deacons, but having received the first tonsure. From the Head of the college down to the porter, all were bound, as members of a religious foundation, by this restriction of celibacy. The restriction was removed at the Reformation. Heads of colleges generally used the freedom thus accorded to them; and their Fellows would, no doubt, have followed their example, had not the Crown interfered. Celibacy was thus only in the founder's intention, so far as it was a condition of the religious life imposed by the laws of the unreformed Church; and as the founder's intention is always assumed to accommodate itself to the law of the land, the

abolition of the celibacy restriction as a part of ecclesiastical and, consequently, of collegiate discipline, must be taken to be not opposed to that intention. It has been pleaded, too, that Fellows should not be permitted in any case to marry, because a married man, it is alleged, cannot feel the same interest in his college as a single one. Write parish for college, and priest for Fellow, and the plea assumes a form which all good Protestants must refuse to accept. But, independently of the general benefit of compulsory celibacy, the assertion in the plea is unfounded. The marriage of a Head of a college is looked for almost as a necessary consequence of his election; yet we never hear such a marriage characterized as an injury done to the college for the sake of individual gratification. Clearly, therefore, except Heads of colleges are differently constituted from other individuals,—and physiologists have not yet proclaimed the existence of any such distinction,—the marriage of a simple Fellow ought not to cause more damage to the college than the marriage of its Head. If compulsory celibacy be such a 'saving ordinance,' it should be applied to the Heads of colleges as well as to the other members. Indeed, there is even greater reason for applying it to the greater man, since he has a much larger stake in the interests of the society.

In the preceding discussion of the proposition of limited tenure, and of its corollary, the modification of the celibacy restriction, great stress has been laid upon the evil which must arise from the indiscriminate application of compulsory limitation. It has been taken for granted that the law, proposed on the subject, would be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter. It is due, however, to the Commissioners to state that, though the words of the statute limiting the tenure are such as to justify all the conclusions of its disastrous effects which have been anticipated, yet that, by means of another statute in the draft, the college may, by an abuse of power which at once suggests itself, utterly defeat the object sought to be attained. By the statute of limitation, any Fellow who has held the office of assistant-tutor for the space of two years before the expiration of the prescribed period of tenure, is to be allowed to retain his Fellowship so long as he shall continue to hold such office; and by the other statute alluded to, the college may appoint as many assistant-tutors as it thinks proper. The duties of these assistant-tutors are nowhere defined in the draft; and, for anything which appears to the contrary, these officers need not be even resident. Hence, if the college be disposed to evade the limitation statute, it will only have to elect each of its Fellows to an assistant-

tutorship, and then to give him leave of absence. The disposition which societies generally feel to benefit an agreeable member, when by so doing they do not inflict positive injury on the public, may prove a powerful inducement to them to use in his favour the full powers which the tutors' statute allows them; and, at last, the refusal to do so may come to be regarded as a quiet means of pushing out an unpopular man, or as a useful rod to shake before the eyes of a troublesome reformer. Should this state of things be established in Cambridge, some of the evils anticipated from compulsory limitation of tenure will, no doubt, be remedied. An obsequious Fellow may look upon his Fellowship as his freehold. The earnest and candid man will be the only sufferer. One can well understand that the high opinion, which the Commissioners entertain of the governing bodies of the colleges, should blind them to the possibility of this power of increasing the staff of assistant-tutors being abused, even for the sake of extending the tenure of a popular man. Such good grounds exist for their holding this high opinion, that any errors into which its influence has driven them are pardonable. They think highly of us; and with a generous enthusiasm they wish to show that they do so. But their zeal outruns their discretion, in thus proposing to prove to the world their strong appreciation of the moral tone at Cambridge, by the imposition of harsh laws, the creation of powerful temptations to break them, and the suggestion of an easy way to evade them. We acknowledge the tribute paid to our excellence by the proposal; but our humility bids us decline the ordeal. We might, perhaps, come out unscathed; still we shrink from trying the 'terrible track;' especially as recollections of certain statutable lecturers, non-resident and non-lecturing, force on us the thought that such things may be. We are less confident, perhaps, than we ought to be; yet we cannot free ourselves from the apprehension that, if we advance along the path which the Commissioners have chalked out for us, we shall be drawn off it by the allurements, which they have set up to exhibit to the public our inflexible virtue.

The condition of the professoriate has long been a subject of anxiety at Cambridge. Many branches of learning have no representatives. And even of the professorships which we possess, some are so miserably endowed that, in spite of the stipends of their holders being eked out by a capitation tax, levied under the name of lecture-fees, on all candidates for the ordinary degree, those stipends remain discreditably small. Attention was called to this state of things by the Royal Commissioners in their Report, and again by Lord Palmerston in

his circular of December, 1853. One of the essential points mentioned in that circular, with respect to which it was considered desirable that plans of improvement should be entertained, was—

> The establishment of provisions under which colleges possessed of means, either particularly ample, or now only partially applied to the purposes of education or learning, might, in conformity with the views which founders have often indicated, render some portion of their property available for the general purposes of the University, beyond as well as within the college walls, and might thus facilitate the energetic prosecution of some branches of study, the importance of which the Universities have of late distinctly and specially acknowledged.

The hint thus thrown out by Lord Palmerston was acted on by the framers of the Cambridge University Act; and the colleges were therein empowered to frame statutes, among other purposes, 'for rendering portions of the college property or income available to purposes for the benefit of the University at large.'

By a redisposition of the revenues of the Regius and Lady Margaret Professorships of Divinity, and of the Hulse trusts, the senate has been able to submit to the Commissioners a scheme for the ample endowment of University representatives of the Theological Faculty. There are many, indeed, who think the stipends proposed for some of these professorships more ample than necessary, and that, with the funds at their disposal, the senate might have done more for the interests of theology. They see no good reason why a theological professor should require a larger retaining fee than a mathematical or physical one. And they ask, if 600*l.* a-year be considered a liberal stipend for a professor of philology, who ought to be a giant in learning, why that sum should be deemed insufficient to secure the services of a judicious divine? It is desirable that such a question should be answered before any appeal is made to the charity of the colleges on behalf of any present or future theological professor.

In dealing with this branch of their subject the Commissioners seem to have followed the direction indicated by Lord Palmerston's circular. They propose that Trinity College shall found 'three University Professors, to lecture on Logic and Mental Philosophy, Comparative Philology, and some branch of physical science,' with 'a fixed annual stipend of 600*l.* each;' the number being probably suggested by the three Regius Professors, whose annual stipends of 40*l.* each have for the last 300 years formed a fixed charge on the college revenues. From St. John's College they require the endowment

of only one professorship; probably considering the means of that college to be less 'particularly ample than those of the neighbouring foundation.' So far, their proposals do not, perhaps, outrun public expectation. But this is not the sum total of their requirements from those colleges. They also propose 'that there be paid into the University chest, to be applied to University purposes, an annual sum equal to (say) *five* per cent. upon the distributable income of the college.' As it is probable that this proposal of the diversion of a twentieth part of college property to University purposes will be made to all the colleges, it naturally calls for some remark.

Now, it is at once freely admitted that the stipends of many of our professors are shamefully inadequate, and that some means should be devised for augmenting them; nay, more, that the subject should not be allowed to rest until the annual stipend of each professor is raised to at least 500*l.* per annum. Yet it is very doubtful if the means suggested by the Commissioners are the best that can be devised. Those means are neither more nor less than the imposition of an income-tax on every Fellow, Scholar, and Exhibitioner in the University, for the support of the professoriate. The inequality with which such a tax must press, and the constant irritation which must be excited by that pressure, make it a very objectionable mode of raising funds. The tax is chiefly defended on the ground of its simplicity. Simplicity, however, should not be sought after at a sacrifice of justice. Of all modes by which a state can raise money, confiscation is the most simple and the most direct; yet, as civilization advances, it is a mode less and less frequently resorted to.

It has been suggested that all difficulties in the way of adequately endowing our professoriate would be overcome by attaching the Headships of our colleges to Professorships. The suggestion gives the best solution of the professorial endowment problem which has been propounded. Such a union would provide us with a professoriate which, if its powers were commensurate with the cost of maintaining it, should be the wonder of the literary world. Nor would its benefits be solely financial. All rivalry between the collegiate and professorial systems would cease; a cordial union would take place between them; the defects of the one would be counteracted by the excellences of the other; and the true intellectual millennium would at once begin. The picture of our renovated Cambridge, with its group of seventeen colleges, headed each by a pioneer in some path of human knowledge, of which the rude outline is here sketched, can be fitly completed only by the master-hand of a lecturing professor inspired by the brilliant prospect. Unfor-

tunately, like the solution of some other of our social problems, this solution of the professorial endowment problem seems, at first sight, to require the aid of a Henry VIII. or a Cromwell to reduce it to a possible form; so that it runs the risk of being at once set aside as the dream of a revolutionary enthusiast. Yet its suggestor need not be discouraged. Changes in the British Constitution, which fifty years ago were ridiculed as preposterous and impracticable, have been accomplished. Even greater changes are impending, and are calmly contemplated. Chairmen of agricultural associations are recanting the errors of the Protectionist creed. The Thames is about to be purified. A few years will see the corporation of London cleansed, as well as its river. Such victories may reassure the enthusiast, teaching, as they do, that to the believer in social progress nothing should be impossible but despair.

As professors, however, cannot, any more than their less intellectual fellow-creatures, live on hope, some means should be adopted for augmenting their stipends until the revolution takes place. An obvious way of doing so would be by permitting any Fellow of a college elected to a professorship, the whole income of which from all sources fell short of 600*l.* per annum, to retain his Fellowship so long as he remained professor, even if married; provided he continued to reside in Cambridge. Such a contribution to professorial funds would, it is almost certain, be ungrudgingly granted even by those who are most strongly opposed to any alienation of college property. The plan would also have the beneficial effect of binding the colleges more closely to the professoriate, and of increasing its influence. Much has been said of the benefits which are to result to learning from 'an atmosphere,' which our professors are to 'diffuse' throughout the regenerated University. Whatever may be meant by this bold figure, and however the professors are to diffuse this atmosphere, it seems probable that the most favourable circumstances for its diffusion would be developed, by thus making each professor a centre of learning, as it were, to his college. The Commissioners recommend that the colleges shall be empowered to elect professors as Fellows, even though married. The regulation is necessary for those cases in which the professor has never been a Fellow, or has ceased to be one, but for those only. An election would be manifestly superfluous in the case of any professor who should be a Fellow at the time of his admission into the professoriate, and would be also liable to the objection to which all re-elections are obnoxious.

Before, however, any attempts whatever are made to augment professors' stipends, the function of the professor must

be clearly understood. Cambridge needs no teachers of the undergraduates either in classics, mathematics, or divinity. In these subjects the colleges, with the aid of the private tutors, are fully adequate to the needs of the students. All systems of coercion, for the purpose of supplying the professor who hungers after 'the excitement of a large class' with his daily *pabulum* of undergraduates, must be abandoned. If the professor be still required to lecture, he must aim at securing the voluntary attention of the diligent and the educated, and not ask the University to sweep the colleges to supply his lecture-room. The example of the late Professor Blunt has proved, to the satisfaction of all, the striking advantage of the voluntary principle in the case of professorial lectures; and has, moreover, shown that when a professor, even of such an old subject as theology, has anything to say, he will never fail to find attentive hearers.

In the preceding sketch of the relations between the colleges and the Commissioners, attention has been chiefly directed to the suggestions for change, which are likely to be made to all the colleges in common. Many other points of interest are raised in the drafts submitted to Trinity and St. John's Colleges;—points which those colleges seem little disposed to concede. It is still doubtful, however, whether the Commissioners will suggest to all our foundations the adoption of similar provisions to those alluded to, and therefore it is unnecessary to discuss them here as a matter of general application. The two great colleges will, no doubt, keep a watchful eye on the nature and tendency of every change proposed to them, and will stoutly fight against all provisions which may hinder them from continuing 'seminaries of sound learning and *religious* education.' They are the heads of our confederacy,—the tall poppies of our garden. After the form which they assume under the hands of the Commissioners the other foundations will probably be moulded. Therefore, in their negotiations with the Commissioners they should remember that their acts do not concern themselves alone,—that they are trustees for their less-exalted fellow-colleges,—and that to them those colleges naturally look for sympathy and support.

Much, of course, may be said in favour of keeping things as they are; and if the only possible alternative lay between inaction and destruction, the prudent man would take the safer course, and try to defer all reforms to better times. But delays are dangerous, especially in social reforms. Changes which, if made at the proper time, would have but slightly disturbed the equilibrium so necessary to the due working of our educational system, may, if deferred, bring

revolution in their train. For grievances grow by being brooded over. If, then, upon a calm examination of our present condition, grievances are found to exist, those grievances must be redressed. It will be useless to argue that they ought not to exist, and that, if the persons who suffer under them were less imperfect, they would never have risen into being. The very fact of their existence should be accepted as *primâ facie* evidence that our system has produced them as its ordinary growth, and should consequently induce us to look to the pruning of the plant. These are truisms. They are not, however, on that account the less true. Besides, it must be remembered as a most important element in the question, that even if we wished to preserve the existing state of things at Cambridge, it is no longer possible to do so. The Royal Commission of Inquiry, the Circular of Lord Palmerston, the Cambridge University Act, cannot eventuate in nothing. Something must be done. And it depends on those friends of the existing system, who in every college form the majority of the governing body, to avert by wise and timely concessions, where such concessions can be made with safety, the evils which must be always impending from the existence of a class in the citadel agitating for change, and able to produce reasons for such agitation.

Many of the governing bodies of our colleges naturally evince great disinclination to modify in any way the system under which they have lived, and, as they consider, prospered. Even abuses are consecrated by time; and a nuisance is tolerated, provided its defenders can prove that it ought to have been abated long before. If this be so in the case of things which can plead antiquity only in their defence, how natural is it when the system to be defended can plead not only prescription, but even, on the admission of its opponents, partial success. Though the chief place, then, should be given to reason in the controversy between college conservatives and college reformers, yet something should be conceded to feeling. The apologists of a past which has such noble memories may well claim indulgence from its censors, even to the extent of being permitted to retain some slight defects which their fancy invests with beauty.

But whatever place may be allowed to sentiment, when it appears on the side of adherence to a time-honoured system, none is due to it when advocating change. Good reason should be demanded for every reform asked for. No passion for symmetry can justify a tampering with such parts of our educational machine as do their work, however cumbrous they may seem to those who have not had experience of their

efficiency. Where pressure is felt, there, and there only, let relief be applied; even then let it be applied gently,—considerately. Rude handling may cause more mischief to our institutions,—institutions for promoting learning and religion,—than even statesmen can remedy. Above all things, the colleges must be permitted to retain their freedom. It is their life. Those who would deprive them of it are, no doubt, actuated by the best motives. They see that anomalies exist; they hear the murmurs of disappointment, and the sighs of those who are ceasing to hope; and in their desire to remedy evils which the change of circumstances, quite as much as the inherent defects of the system, has brought upon us, they rush to reconstruct where they should be content to adapt. Such reconstruction we earnestly deprecate. It is true that our colleges are old, and need to be reinvigorated. We have the fullest confidence in the will of the Commissioners to restore them to juvenescence. Yet we hesitate to dismember them, fearing lest, when the old life-blood shall have been withdrawn, the power to restore should be found to be unequal to the will.

W. M. C.

HIERATIC PAPYRI.

THE publication, in 1841, of Champollion's *Grammaire Egyptienne* placed the study of Egyptian literature upon a solid basis. The discovery of the true method of reading the hieroglyphics was made by him in 1821; and the key having been once obtained, he advanced in the process of decipherment with astonishing rapidity. The grammar, which did not see the light until after his decease, not only completely developed the principles of hieroglyphic writing, but contained a masterly sketch of the language itself. The old Egyptian proved to resemble, as might have been anticipated, the modern Coptic in most of its forms. Notwithstanding the modifications which the language sustained under Persian, Greek, and Roman dynasties, its essential elements have been preserved, and, on the whole, the Coptic as we now possess it differs less from the language of the ancient Pharaohs than modern English does from its mother the Anglo-Saxon.

Had not Champollion been prematurely cut off, he would probably have left little for succeeding scholars to accomplish. All those who have followed him in the research have been struck with the extraordinary accuracy and sagacity which his investigations display; and his grammar still remains the most complete, and almost the only introduction to the study of Egyptian.* Since his death, however, very considerable progress has been made, by the zealous labours of a host of scholars in France, Germany, Italy, Holland, England, and Ireland. The most striking results are those which have recently been obtained by researches into the hieratic wri-

* The only other treatise that I am aware of, is that contained in Baron Bunsen's work on Egypt, which is of great utility. A demotic grammar has lately been published by M. Brugsch.

tings; and of these it is the object of the present Essay to give some account.

The reader may require to be informed that there are three species of Egyptian writing. The first is that of the temples and tombs, in which all the symbols used appear in their complete forms, well defined, and often carefully coloured, so that the objects intended to be represented can be in general clearly recognised. This is the style to which the name *hieroglyphics* is primarily applied. It is employed in many of the funereal papyri, or rituals, which were wont to be buried with the dead, the forms of the objects being drawn in outline, with slight modifications, according to the taste of the scribe, and for the sake of speed in writing.

The next species is that termed hieratic, which is a modification of the preceding, and was used for literary compositions and the purposes of ordinary life. Funeral rituals were also not unfrequently written in this character. The forms of many of the hieroglyphics are so much altered in this style, that it would be impossible to recognise them except by a comparison of identical passages written in both characters, which the hieratic rituals fortunately enable us to effect. The hieratic may be broadly described as the cursive writing in general use in Egypt from the earliest period down to about 600 B.C., or nearly to the time of the Persian invasion. During this long period several varieties of it occur, but the writing is essentially the same. About 600 B.C. it began to be supplanted by the third species, called by the Greeks *demotic*, which is an abbreviated and less cumbrous form of the hieratic.

The principle of all these three kinds of writing is the same. In general each word is *spelt* by phonetic signs, which stand either for letters or syllables. The word thus spelt is followed by one or more symbols, which are not sounded, but indicate the class of ideas to which the word belongs. Thus there are symbols to mark ideas of motion, violent action, repose, thought, wickedness, animals, vegetables, and a host of others. This ingenious combination of symbolical and phonetic writing has been the means of preserving the Egyptian language to us, for without the hints afforded by these significant characters the task of interpretation would be almost hopeless. The discovery of the use of the determinative symbols was Champollion's grand achievement; the mixture of them with the alphabetic symbols having perplexed all previous inquirers. The truth once unfolded, the system appears simple enough. The determinative signs are the most extensively employed in the hieratic writing, in which we constantly find three of

them applied to a single word. In the sculptured inscriptions they are more sparingly used.

Besides words phonetically spelt, there are some in all three kinds of writing represented by mere symbols. The sense of such words is generally pretty clear, but their sound is not always easy to determine. This may sometimes, however, be done by the help of variants, a word symbolically expressed in one inscription being found phonetically written in the parallel passage in another. The radical letters of a large number of Egyptian words are now known, and of them a considerable portion may be traced in the Coptic, some without alteration, others under various disguises, of which the laws have been well ascertained. A good many words have their congeners in Hebrew and Syriac. Practically, the meaning of a word is first approached by help of the determinative and the context in which it occurs; if a similar root can be discovered in Coptic or a cognate language, the value thus obtained may be confirmed or modified. In many cases, however, these languages leave us without assistance.

It is obvious that every word of which the meaning is once assured, must lead the way to the discovery of others; and thus the completion of the old Egyptian vocabulary is by no means a hopeless task, and it is one in which daily advances are being made.

The object of this brief explanation is to inspire the reader, if possible, with some little confidence in the method by which the interpretations which are about to be placed before him have been arrived at.* This is the more necessary as, notwithstanding the number of popular works which have been published on Egyptian matters, there is reason to think that great distrust prevails as to the ability of Egyptologists to expound conclusively the hieroglyphic texts; a distrust in some degree warranted by the admitted dissensions of the interpreters themselves.

In Germany a different principle of decipherment from that discovered by Champollion has been propounded by a philologist named Seyffarth, and has found a few followers. The Champollionists, however, do not concern themselves with refuting these ideas, which can be looked upon only as a product of perverse ingenuity, and which are doubtless des-

* Those who wish for a complete view of the course of Egyptian discovery and of the system of hieroglyphical interpretation now recognised, will find a popular and at the same time exact account of these subjects in Mr. Birch's *Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, published with Sir G. Wilkinson's *Egyptians in the Time of the Pharaohs*.

tined to die out before long. It is a more serious affair that even those who profess to follow the system of the great Frenchman, are not always at one in the results which they produce. These differences, however, are not so great as may be thought, and tend daily to disappear.

The truth is, that Egyptian philology is yet in its infancy. Champollion got little further than the accidence of the language; and since his time not much has been done in the investigation of the syntax. The attention of scholars has been greatly devoted to the public monuments, funereal inscriptions, and the ritual; none of which give much insight into niceties of construction, and the capabilities of expression which the old Egyptian undoubtedly possessed. The language of the monuments is conventional and abbreviated; that of the ritual, mystical and antiquated. A collection of the *London Gazettes* and *Court Circulars*, the Book of Common Prayer, and copies of the tombstones in a dozen of our cathedrals, would present but an imperfect basis for the reconstruction of the English language if it should ever be lost; but these materials would be far more complete for such a purpose than those which have hitherto been the principal object of the explorations of Egyptologists. The so-called ritual is indeed in no way to be classed with our Prayer Book for the importance and variety of its contents. The same barren formulæ are repeated over and over again; it is seldom that the context throws any light upon the meaning of a doubtful word; and for the illustration of any but the simplest form of construction, it is altogether valueless. With an incomplete knowledge of the syntax and a slender vocabulary, translation becomes guess-work, and the misconception of a single word or phrase may, it will be readily understood, completely confound the sense. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that a great mass of monumental inscriptions has been correctly understood, and their substantial sense obtained. The task still remains of reviewing and sifting what has been done. A far richer field of research, however, lies in the papyri, written in the hieratic character, of which the contents are not of a funereal or mystical nature. Here we find the old Egyptian language in all its fullness, and most abundant means of investigating its syntax and extending its vocabulary.

The hieratic literary documents at present available are as follows: 1. A papyrus recently purchased by the trustees of the British Museum from Madame d'Orbiney, an English lady, in whose possession it had been for many years previous. Of this valuable MS. a lithographed *fac-simile* has been made, which will be published shortly. It contains a romance

or fairy tale, and is of the age of the 19th dynasty, about B.C. 1300. A translation was published in the *Revue Archéologique* of May, 1852, by the Vicomte de Rougé, conservator of the Egyptian collection in the Louvre, who was fortunate enough to obtain a perusal of the papyrus while in the possession of Madame d'Orbiney. 2. A collection of thirteen papyri, also in the British Museum, of which *fac-similes* were published in 1844, under the title of *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character.* Nine of these papyri are known as Anastasi, Nos. 1 to 9, the rest as Sallier, Nos. 1 to 4, from the names of the persons of whom they were purchased. They comprise a portion of an historical poem, of which the subject is an exploit of Rameses II.; a small fragment of history relating to the Hyksos period; several collections of miscellaneous correspondence of the Pharaonic scribes; a kind of biographical memoir of a scribe; the advice of King Amenem-ha to his son; the precepts of a certain high functionary addressed to his son; a hymn to the Nile; and a calendar of lucky and unlucky days and festivals throughout the year. The whole of these compositions belong to the 19th dynasty.

3. A papyrus of much more ancient date than any of the above, now in the Bibliothéque Impériale, to which it was presented by M. Prisse d'Avennes, who had previously published a beautiful lithographed *fac-simile* of it. It contains a book of proverbial philosophy by an ancient scribe, and a fragment of another work of the same kind, possibly by the same author.

Copies of a few hieratic papyri of less value have been published. Some fragments relating to magic are to be found in the *Monumens du Musée Egyptien des Pays Bas*, edited by Dr. Leemans. Important unpublished papyri are believed to exist in the museums of Europe; one at Berlin is said to belong to the same remote age as the Prisse papyrus.

The present Essay is written with the intention of presenting to the reader a view of the old Pharaonic literature as developed in the D'Orbiney, Anastasi, Sallier, and Prisse papyri, which by help of the labours of several eminent Egyptologists it is now possible to do. To a considerable extent I rely upon my own resources; and here I must acknowledge, once for all, the great assistance which I have derived from Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, whose liberality in imparting his knowledge upon Egyptian subjects keeps pace with its depth; but whom I by no means wish to make sponsor for numerous inaccuracies which will doubtless occur in the translations attempted.

As the interest of the reader in these remains will doubtless

be increased by his being able to place them in some clear relation to what is known from other sources of the world's history, something must here be said about chronology. It is well known that the most contradictory opinions have prevailed among Egyptologists upon this head; and it is difficult to say, even at the present time, what it is that is taken on all hands for granted. I will endeavour to give in a few words the views of Lepsius, and the reasons, which appear to me sufficiently convincing, that the 19th dynasty, to which all except one of our papyri belong, was that under which the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt, and their departure from that country, took place. The earliest distinct point of synchronism which we find between Manetho, the native Egyptian historian, and the Jewish history, is at the commencement of the 22nd dynasty. Here we have a king Sesonchis, who has been well identified with Shishak, the conqueror of Rehoboam. The invasion of Judea by this monarch is usually placed B.C. 960, about forty years after the date assigned to the building of Solomon's temple. Now, the two preceding dynasties of Manetho, the 21st and 20th, occupy together 265 or 308 years, the number varying in the different copies that have been handed down. A comparison of several genealogies preserved in the Book of Chronicles makes it probable that between Moses and Solomon there were about ten generations, or something more than 300 years. This brings us back, then, to the close of the 19th dynasty as the time of the Exodus, and it is at this point that Manetho, writing from Egyptian tradition or records, actually places the event. The old chronologers, indeed, reckoned a much longer period for the time of the Judges, and placed the Exodus very much further back in Egyptian history; and their view has been adopted by many modern writers. One argument against it is this: the Israelites are said to have built Pharaoh a city named Rameses, doubtless after the king himself, which is afterwards mentioned as their point of departure. Now, the first monarch of that name who appears in Egyptian history is the last but one of the 18th dynasty, or the first of the 19th, according to Lepsius's arrangement. His reign is, then, the earliest period to which the oppression of the Israelites could be assigned. But as he reigned a very short time (four years, according to Lepsius's latest investigation), he cannot be supposed to be the king under whom the earlier events mentioned in the Book of Exodus took place. His grandson, Rameses II., the most celebrated king of the name, whose reign extended over more than sixty years, is in all probability the oppressor; and it is certain that he built a city in the north-eastern corner of

Egypt, in the region which the Israelites are believed to have inhabited, some remains of it, bearing his name inscribed, existing to this day. If we suppose that it was a later king of the name of Rameses for whom the Israelites built 'treasure cities'—for instance, Rameses III., the first king of the 20th dynasty—we must then contract the space of time between Moses and Solomon into still narrower limits, and beyond what is reasonably warranted by the genealogies.

It was under a successor of the first oppressor that the departure of the Israelites took place (Exodus ii. 23); but whether his immediate successor or not, is not clearly stated. Lepsius places the event under Seti-Meneptah II., the second (or third) king from Rameses II., B.C. 1314.

It is to the times of Rameses II., and his successors Ba-en-ra-Meneptah and Seti-Meneptah II., that the greater part of our papyri relate. Therefore, if the chronological views of Lepsius be correct, they present to us a picture of Egyptian life and character, precisely at that period of the history of that people which has become most interesting to us from its connexion with that of the Israelites. And this is the utmost I am desirous of impressing upon the reader; for any direct mention, or even allusion, to the transactions mentioned in Exodus I believe is not to be found in the papyri.

I begin my account of the contents of these documents, with those which have already been the most completely and satisfactorily interpreted. The first to be mentioned is the D'Orbiney papyrus, of which, as has been before stated, the contents were made known by M. de Rougé as long ago as 1852, although they will probably be new to a large number of English readers. The papyrus is a roll containing nineteen pages of writing in the finest style of Egyptian calligraphy. The first five pages are somewhat damaged, but with a little trouble, I believe nearly all might be supplied. Some unskilful person has attempted reparations in a few places, which are executed so as to deceive the eye of the casual observer, but which betray themselves at once to those acquainted with the characters. Not only is the handwriting of this MS. clear and beautiful, but the text is extremely correct, which is by no means the case with many of the Sallier and Anastasi papyri. The recto and verso of the last page contain the name of king Seti-Meneptah II., but with the titles of 'ensign-bearer on the king's left, generalissimo of infantry, and king's son,' from which M. de Rougé concludes that the papyrus belonged to this prince before his accession to the throne. Had the writer intended to mark the date of

his work, he would probably have inscribed it with the name of the reigning monarch. It does not appear, however, to have been composed expressly for the edification of the young Pharaoh, for it is dedicated by the author Enna to three scribes of his own college, Ka-kabu, Hora, and Meriemap; but we may fairly conclude that this was a copy made for the use of the prince, to whom we also may with some probability ascribe the well-thumbed condition of the first five pages. The contents may be thought childish, and they certainly throw no light upon history; but the book, from its very simplicity, is the most useful document yet discovered for the illustration of the Egyptian language. The style is clear, and there are very few sentences of which the meaning can admit of a doubt. It affords the means of determining at once, in the most complete manner, the meaning of a number of words and phrases which could only be guessed at in other MSS. The opening paragraphs of the story shall be given from the translation of M. de Rougé:—

This relates to two brothers, children of the same mother and father: the name of the elder was Anepou (Anubis); the name of the younger was Satou.* Anepou, being the head of the house, married, and he treated his younger brother as his son.

Some obliterations here occur, but it appears that Satou was a skilful feeder of cattle, and that he led his brother's herds every day to the pasture, and brought them back at night to their stalls.

When he returned from the field he brought back all sorts of fodder, he sat down with his brother and sister to eat and drink, and then went to the stall to tend his cattle.

When the earth was again illumined and the dawn appeared, the hour of going to the fields being come, he called his cattle, and led them to feed in the meadow. He followed them . . . . and his cattle told him which were the choicest feeding places, for he understood all their language. And when he brought them back to the stalls, they found them supplied with all the herbs which they loved.

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* M. de Rougé, in reading this name Satou, expresses a doubt as to its correctness. I believe that the first syllable is *Ba*, being represented by the hieratic equivalent of a bird with a tuft in front of its neck, of which the sound is well-known to be *ba*, and which is often used to express 'the soul,' Copt. *ba*. The other syllable is a word which, standing by itself, means 'bread' or 'food,' and of which I believe the sound has not been certainly ascertained. In adopting M. de Rougé's translation of this papyrus, I beg to say that I have verified every word of it, and may venture to express a conviction of its general accuracy. On some few points I see cause to differ. This Essay is not, however, the place for discussing at length such variations as I am led to make.

The cattle which he tended became extremely fat, and multiplied greatly. When the season of tillage arrived, his elder brother said to him, 'Let us take the teams and go to plough, for the land appears (*i.e.* the water of the inundation had subsided), and is fit for culture. When we have ploughed it, you shall fetch the seed.' So the young man proceeded to execute what his elder brother told him.

Some erasures occur here which interfere with the continuity of the translation. The story proceeds to the following effect. The ploughing being finished, the elder brother sends the younger home to fetch seed. On arriving at the house, the young man finds his brother's wife engaged in combing her hair. He asks her for corn, and she bids him go to the granary and help himself while she completes her toilette. Satou fetches one of his largest baskets, in order to carry back as much corn as possible. On his return from the granary, laden with barley and wheat, the lady compliments him upon his strength, and addresses him in precisely the same fashion as the wife of Potiphar addressed the Hebrew Joseph. Satou indignantly rejects her advances, and departs with his load, promising, however, to observe the strictest silence as to what had occurred. The wife of Anepou determines to be revenged; and when the husband returns, in the evening, he is astonished to find his house in darkness, the lamp not lighted, and no one ready to present him with water to wash his hands. On entering, he finds his wife stretched on the bed, apparently lifeless, stripped of her clothes, and with all the outward semblance of having been the victim of violent outrage.

'Who has been speaking with thee?' he inquires. 'No man has spoken to me,' is the reply, 'but thy younger brother when he came to fetch the corn.'

And she then proceeds to tell the story, *mutatis mutandis*, and concludes with conjuring her husband to take summary vengeance upon the offender.

The elder brother became as furious as a panther; he sharpened his sword, and took it in his hand. Then he went and stood behind the door of the ox-stall, ready to kill his younger brother on his arrival, in the evening, with his cattle. When the sun set, Satou came back, according to his daily wont. As he approached, the cow which walked first to enter the stall, said to her keeper, 'Methinks thy elder brother is yonder, with his sword, ready to kill thee when thou comest near him.' He heard the words of his first cow, and then came another and said the same. Then he looked under the door of the stall, and he saw the feet of his brother, who stood behind the door, his sword in his hand. He threw his load on the ground, and

began to run as fast as he could; and his brother pursued him, sword in hand.

Satou invokes the sun-god Ra :—

My good lord, it is thou who showest on which side is wrong and on which side is right.

The sun-god hears the complaint, and causes a wide river, full of crocodiles, to flow between the two brothers. The younger calls to the elder to wait until the next day, when he will give a full explanation. Accordingly, when the sun rises, he relates the true state of the affair, reproaches his brother with his credulity, and, calling the sun to witness his innocence, he inflicts a grievous mutilation upon himself, and falls fainting on the bank of the river. The elder brother is much afflicted, but is unable to come to his assistance on account of the crocodiles. Satou at length recovers, and announces his intention of quitting his brother's company and of retiring to the valley of the acacia, a remote place, apparently beyond the limits of Egypt. Here commences a mysterious part of the story. Satou tells his brother that he shall take his heart and place it in the flowers of an acacia-tree. If, at some future time, the brother desires to renew communication with him, he must search for his heart, and, when found, place it in a vessel containing wine, or some other liquid, with certain ceremonies. Satou will then appear to him, and answer any questions which he may put. Having given these directions, Satou departs, and the brother returns home in grief, throwing dust upon his head. He slays his wife, and casts her to the dogs.*

Satou dwells in the valley of the acacia, where he occupies himself in hunting wild animals; at night he sleeps under the acacia-tree, in the flowers of which he has placed his heart. After a time he builds himself a house. Going out one day, he meets the fraternity of the gods, who had come down to visit their land of Egypt. One of them says to him :—

'Oh! Satou, thou divine bull, dost thou remain thus alone, having left thy country on account of the wife of Anepou, thy brother? Lo! he has slain his wife.'

Ra, the sun-god, says to Noum, the creator :—

'Wilt thou not make a woman for Satou, that he may not remain alone?'

Noum accordingly forms for him a consort more beautiful than all the women in Egypt, and all the gods endow her with

* *Pigs*, according to M. de Rougé, but the word occurs in a passage in Anastasi No. 4, from which I think it must mean some kind of dog.

gifts. The seven Hathors (the sacred cows) come to see her; and declare with one voice that she is destined to die a violent death. Satou takes this beautiful creature to his house, and she remains at home while he employs himself industriously in hunting. One day he says to her:—

'When thou goest out to walk, beware lest the river seize thee, for I could not deliver thee, being a woman even as thou art; for my heart is among the flowers of the acacia.'

He then explains his history to her. The daughter of the gods loses no time in going to the acacia-tree to search for her husband's heart, when she perceives the river overflowing his banks, and advancing towards her. She flees, and the river pursues, but proceeds no further than the foot of the acacia, where he makes his moan, and declares to the tree that he is smitten with love of the wife of Satou. The consolatory acacia throws down a lock of the lady's hair, which she appears to have left among the branches, and the river, satisfied with this prize, retires within his banks, and the waters bear down the lock towards Egypt. All the way the hair diffuses a celestial odour, until it arrives at the place where the washers* of the king of Egypt carry on their business; and it scents the king's linen to such an extent as to excite extreme surprise among the washers. A vehement controversy arises among them as to the cause of this extraordinary odour. The foreman of the washers, going alone one day to the washing-ground, greatly disgusted with the interminable dispute, is fortunate enough to see the wonderful lock. He snatches it out of the water, and hastens with it to the king. His majesty forthwith orders his wise men to be summoned, who, having inspected the lock, pronounce it to belong to a daughter of the gods. Their advice is that couriers should be despatched into all parts of the land to search for the owner of the hair;† they recommend also that the courier to be sent to the valley of the acacia should be accompanied by a large body of troops. This advice is followed, and after many days the various messengers return to bring their reports; but of those who were

* M. de Rougé thinks the word which I have translated *washers* may mean *dyers*. The word occurs 2 Sall. Pl. xvii. and 4 Anast. Pl. xci.; but from neither passage can the meaning with certainty be determined.

† This part of the story recalls the legend of *Rhodope*, the Egyptian prototype of *Cinderella*, related by Ælian. An eagle seized one of her sandals whilst she was bathing at Naucratis, and dropped it in the lap of the king at Memphis, as he sat in the open air administering justice. The king sent messengers throughout the land to find the owner of the sandal, and when she was discovered, made her his queen.

sent to the valley of the acacia, only one came back, for Satou had encountered and slain all the rest. The king then sends another troop, who on this occasion are provided with rich dresses and other articles pleasing to female taste.*

This expedition is more successful than the former; the wife of Satou is captivated by the presents, and is brought in triumph to Egypt, where her arrival is the occasion of general rejoicing. The king is greatly smitten with her beauty, confers on her the rank of a princess, and makes her his queen. The daughter of the gods, however, shows herself to be not in all respects so perfect a creature as she outwardly appeared. The gloomy destiny foretold by the sacred cows has prepared us for a bad termination to her career. Curiosity was the first weakness which displayed itself in her character, the love of finery the next, and more malignant features now develope themselves. She takes an early opportunity of relating to the king the secret of her husband's heart, and advising him to send a troop of men to cut down the acacia, by which means she hopes to get well rid of Satou. This suggestion is followed out by his majesty; the tree is cut down, the heart falls to the ground, and Satou immediately becomes a lifeless corpse.

The story now returns to Anepou, who, after the lapse of several years, is seized with the desire of seeing his brother again. He accordingly prepares two vessels, one containing wine, the other some different species of liquid, for the performance of the ceremonies directed by Satou. He takes his staff, his shoes, his clothes, and other baggage, and sets off for the valley of the acacia. On arriving at his brother's house, he finds the body stretched on a mat. After bewailing his loss, he proceeds to search for the heart. Three years the search continues without success. In the fourth year the heart of Satou, which appears to maintain some consciousness, becomes desirous of returning to Egypt, and says to itself, 'I will leave the celestial sphere.' Anepou had become almost weary of his fruitless toil, but he determines to make one more search; and at length, perceiving an acacia-pod lying on the ground, he turns it over and finds his brother's heart beneath it. He places it in one of the vessels which he had prepared, and leaves it till night. The heart having become saturated with moisture, motion returns to the limbs of Satou, and he opens his eyes and looks at his brother. Anepou then pours the remainder of the liquor down his throat; the heart returns to its proper place, and Satou is completely restored

* I rather think the meaning of the original is, that a woman was sent with this party bearing the presents in question.

to life and activity. The brothers embrace and compare notes, and the younger then announces that he is about to assume the form of a sacred bull. He directs his brother to mount upon his back, and they proceed together to Egypt, where the bull, having been inspected by the priests, is pronounced to be a genuine Apis, and is immediately installed as a divinity. Anepou is handsomely rewarded as the discoverer of the sacred animal. The perfidious queen, going one day to view it, is astonished to hear herself addressed by a human voice:—

'Who art thou?' she inquires. 'I am thy husband, Satou; thou knowest how thou didst cause the king to destroy the acacia-tree wherein I abode, that I might not live; but, behold, I am actually alive!'

The queen runs away in terror, and the first time that she feasts with the king she induces him to swear an oath to grant whatsoever request she shall make. The request is to have the liver of the bull to eat. The king is much scandalized by this proposition; but being under the obligation of an oath, he gives orders that the bull be slain. Satou's head is cut off, and in the operation two drops of blood fall upon two garden-beds by the side of a staircase in front of one of the royal palaces. In the course of the night two magnificent persea-trees spring from these two drops, and the next day the whole population flocks to witness the miracle. The king is informed of the occurrence, and comes in his chariot to see, accompanied by the queen. When she approaches the trees, a voice once more reproaches her with her wickedness, and tells her that Satou is still alive. A second time she induces the weak monarch to swear an oath to grant her whatever she shall ask; whereupon she requests to have the persea-trees cut down, observing that they will make excellent timber. This is put into execution, the queen standing by to witness the proceeding.

A chip from one of the trees flies off and enters her mouth. After this occurrence, the queen produces a son, who is brought to the king, and is recognised as a royal offspring with great ceremony. The king loves him exceedingly, and when he grows up, creates him Prince of Ethiopia, the title borne by the heir-apparent to the throne. After these things, says the narrator, 'the king flew to heaven,' and the young prince, who, it appears, is no other than Satou himself in a new body, reigns in his stead. He calls his councillors before him, relates his whole history, and passes judgment upon his faithless wife. It is not expressly said that she is ordered to be executed, but this appears to be intended. After this Satou reigns happily for thirty years; he confers honours and riches upon his

brother, who succeeds him on the throne, and also reigns thirty years: and so ends the story.

The marvellous indifference to probability and consistency in this singular legend, might almost lead to the conclusion that it was intended for nothing more than a child's tale. We shall see presently that Enna, its author, was capable of much more serious efforts. After all, the Tale of the Two Brothers is not more extravagant than most of those in the Thousand and One Nights. The incidents relating to the heart are probably connected with certain religious notions held by the Egyptians, to whom the separation of the heart from the body and its restoration was a familiar idea; and this part of the story would not to them appear particularly monstrous. If the author can be supposed to have assigned any particular time to the events which he relates, it must be before the reign of Menes, in that pre-historic period which was filled with dynasties of demi-gods and heroes, and which must have afforded a fine field for the expansive imagination of Egyptian mythologists.

The next papyrus to be noticed is Sallier No. 3, containing the larger portion of a narrative composed by a scribe named Penta-our (of whom we shall hear more presently), relating to an exploit performed by the great Rameses II. in one of his campaigns against the Hittites (Cheta).

The commencement is wanting, and the end is somewhat torn, but the date of the composition and the name of the writer have fortunately escaped. It appears to have been written in the 9th year of the king whose valour it celebrates. Champollion saw this papyrus, and had formed some notion of the nature of its contents, but to M. de Rougé belongs the honour of having first given a complete translation of it. This was published in the *Revue Contemporaine*, 1856 (p. 389). The scene of the exploit lies in the neighbourhood of the city of Katesh,* the capital of the Hittites, which stood on the banks of a river named Anrata (or Aranta, as it is sometimes written), perhaps the Syrian Orontes. It appears, from the sculptures and inscriptions of Ibsamboul and the Theban Ramesseum, that Rameses II., in the fifth year of his reign, made an expedition into Asia to suppress a revolt of the Asiatic tribes headed by

* M. de Rougé reads Atesch, but there are very strong reasons for believing that the first syllable in this word is to be read *Kat* not *At*. Of this opinion is M. Brugsch. The Syrian name was probably Kadesh, the Holy City, which the Egyptians, not having the letter *d*, wrote Katesh. There were several places so called in the East, but the Kadesh here mentioned has not been satisfactorily identified with any of them.

side of the city, certain wandering Arabs came to inform him that the forces of the Hittites had retired towards the south, to the land of the Khirbou. These Arabs were, however, in the service of the enemy, and were sent with the intention of entrapping the Egyptians, the fact being that the Hittites and their allies were assembled in force to the north of the town. Rameses fell into the trap, and advanced to the north-west of Katesh while the body of his army proceeded to the south. Shortly after two Hittite spies were caught and brought to the king, and under the pressure of the bastonnade, confessed the true state of the affair. The prince of the Hittites had in the meantime executed a movement to the south of the city, and thus the king was cut off from the body of his troops, and only escaped destruction by the dashing exploit which his admiring subjects seem to have been never weary of commemorating, and which furnished Penta-our, the court poet, with a brilliant theme. A few extracts from the recital shall be given, based upon M. de Rougé's version, from which I venture in a few respects to deviate. The papyrus begins in the middle of a sentence, at the moment when the king had discovered his mistake.

[The prince of] Heth advanced with men and horses well armed [or full of provender?]: there were three men to each chariot.* There were gathered together all the swiftest men of the land of the vile Hittites, all furnished with arms . . . and waited stealthily to the north-west of the fortress of Katesh. Then they fell upon the bowmen of Pharaoh, into the middle of them, as they marched along and did not expect a battle. The bowmen and the horsemen of his majesty gave way before them. Behold they were near to Katesh, on the west bank of the river Anrata. Then was [fulfilled?] the saying of his majesty. Then his majesty, rising up like the god Mentou [Mars], undertook to lead on the attack. He seized his arms—he was like Bar [Baal] in his hour. The great horse which drew his majesty his name was Nekhtou-em-Djom, of the stud of Rameses-Meiamen . . . His majesty halted when he came up to the enemy, the vile Hittites. He was alone by himself—there was no other with him in this sortie. His majesty looked behind him and saw that he was intercepted by two thousand five hundred horsemen in the way he had to go, by all the fleetest men of the prince of the base Hittites, and of many lands which were with him—of Artou [Aradus], of Maausou, of Patasa, of Kashkash, of Aroun, of Kadjawatana, of Khirbou, of Aktra, Katesh, and Raka. There were three men to each chariot, they were . . . but there were neither captains, nor squires, nor leaders of bowmen, nor skirmishers [with the king]. the Prince of Heth. Arrived near Katesh, upon the south

* The word horse is used in the original for a chariot. Homer uses the plural ἵπποι in a similar manner.

My archers and my horsemen forsook me, not one of them remained to fight with me.' Then said his majesty, 'Where art thou now, my father Amen? Behold, does a father forget his son? But do I confide in my own strength? Walking or standing, is not my face towards thee? Do I not inquire the counsels of thy mouth? Do I not seek for thy mighty counsels, O thou great lord of Egypt, at whose approach the oppressors of the land are scattered? What now is the hope of these Aamou? Amen shall abase those who know not god. Have I not made for thee many and great buildings of stone? have I not filled thy temple with my spoils, building for thee a temple to last myriads of years? . . . The whole earth unites to bring thee offerings . . . [to enrich] thy domain. I have sacrificed to thee 30,000 oxen, with all kinds of sweet-scented herbs. Have I not put behind me those who do not thy will? . . . I have built thee a house of great stones, erecting for thee eternal groves; I have brought for thee obelisks from Abou [Elephantine]; I have caused the everlasting stones to be fetched, launching for thee boats upon the sea, importing for thee the manufactures of the lands. When was it ever before said that such a thing was done? Confounded is every one who resists thy designs; blessed is every one who obeys thee, O Amen. That which thou doest is dear to my heart [?] I cry to thee, my father, Amen. I am in the midst of many unknown people gathered together from all lands. But I am alone by myself; there is none other with me. My bowmen and my horsemen have forsaken me; they were afraid; not one of them listened when I cried to them. Amen is more helpful to me than myriads of bowmen, than millions of horsemen, than tens of thousands of chosen youths, though they be all gathered together in one place. The arts of men prevail not, Amen is more powerful than they; they follow not the commands of thy mouth, O sun! Have I not sought out thy commands? have I not invoked thee from the ends of the earth?'

This invocation is heard, and the king proceeds to make a vigorous charge against the enemy, who are scattered in all directions. The prince of the Hittites rallies, and succeeds in bringing them again to the combat, but they are repulsed by the king. It will be observed that sometimes the writer himself speaks, but generally the narrative is put into the mouth of the king—a poetical artifice which gives a certain liveliness to the composition—

'I ran towards them, like the god Mentou, I fleshed my hand upon them in the space of a moment [?] I smote them, I slew them, so that one of them cried to another, saying, 'It is no man' [superhuman]. Mighty was he who was among them, Soutech, the most glorious. Baal was in my limbs; why was every enemy weak? his hand was in all my limbs. They knew not how to hold the bow and the spear. As soon as they saw him, they fled far away with

speed, but his majesty was upon them like a greyhound. He slew them, so that they escaped not.'

The king's squire or armour-bearer is seized with terror, and conjures his master to fly. The king comforts him; and after charging the enemy six times, returns victorious from the field. Rameses, on rejoining his troops, addresses a long tirade to his captains upon their cowardice, and enlarges upon his own valour without any modest scruples. In the evening the rest of the troops came dropping in, and were surprised to find the whole country strewed with the bodies of the dead. The whole army joins in singing the praises of their courageous leader:—

'Hail to the sword, thanks to the bold warrior, strengthener of hearts, who deliverest thy bowmen and thy horsemen, son of Toum, subduing the land of the Hittites with thy victorious sword. Thou art king of victories; there is none like thee, a king fighting for his soldiers in the day of battle. Thou art magnanimous, the first in battle. The whole world joined together cannot resist thee. Thou art the mighty conqueror, in the face of thy army. The whole earth falls down before thee saying homage. Thou rulest Egypt, thou chastisest the foreigners, thou crushest, thou bowest the back of these Hittites for ever.' Then said his majesty to his bowmen, and his horsemen, likewise his captains, 'Ye who did not fight, behold none of you have done well, in that ye left me alone amongst the enemy. The captains of the vanguard, the sergeants of the infantry, came not to help me. I fought against the myriads of the land alone. I had the horses Nechtou-em-Djom and Becht-herouta; they were obedient to the guidance of my hand, when I was alone by myself in the midst of the enemy. Therefore I grant to them to eat their corn in the presence of Ra continually, when I am in the gate of the palace, on account of their having been found in the midst of the enemy: and as for the armour-bearer who remained with me, I bestow upon him my arms, together with the things which were upon me, the habiliments of war.' Behold his majesty wore them in his great victory, overthrowing myriads assembled together with his conquering sword.

The battle is renewed the next day, and the Hittites are thoroughly routed. An envoy from the chief is now announced, suing for mercy. Rameses acts the part of a magnanimous conqueror, and grants pardon to the repentant rebels. He then returns peaceably to Egypt, leaving the terror of his arms in all the countries of the East.

At the end of the last page of the MS. are the date and dedication, unfortunately somewhat mutilated. The writer Penta-our dedicates it not to the king, but to a chief librarian, probably Amen-em-an, with whom he carried on a correspondence. This poem was so highly appreciated by the king,

that he caused it to be engraved in hieroglyphics upon the walls of one of his palaces, where some remains of it may be still seen. If the date be correctly read, it would appear to have been written four years after the event it celebrates, and, notwithstanding the exaggerated style of adulation which pervades it, there can be little doubt that some such occurrence as that which it represents, really took place.

Next to this specimen of cotemporary history must be placed a fragment, possibly from the pen of the same writer, though in an entirely different style, and relating to occurrences which had taken place in Egypt several centuries before. Two thousand years or more B.C. Egypt had been invaded by an Asiatic tribe, who established themselves in Lower Egypt, and founded a dynasty, which continued for several centuries to divide the empire with the native kings. These Hyksos, or shepherd kings, as the Egyptians called them, form Manetho's 15th and 16th dynasties. Their power was shaken by the Theban kings of the 17th dynasty, of whom Aahmes was the first (circa 1700 B.C.); and their complete expulsion was effected by Tothmes III., the first king of the 18th dynasty, according to the views of Lepsius, about 100 years after. The king Ra-skenen, mentioned in the fragment about to be given, has been satisfactorily shown from monumental evidence to have been the immediate predecessor of Aahmes; and the events which the writer intended to record may be supposed to be those which ultimately led to the overthrow and expulsion of the shepherds. Unluckily this scrap of history, which is found at the beginning of the papyrus Sallier No. 1, has been greatly mutilated. The scribe himself, indeed, never finished the narrative, but broke it off abruptly, after writing two pages and three lines of a third. M. de Rougé was the first to point out the interesting nature of the few lines which remain, and their reference to the Hyksos period. M. Brugsch has given an analysis and translation of the first three lines in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for 1855, p. 200. An attempt shall here be made to give a translation of as much as is legible:—

It came to pass, when the land of Egypt was held by the invaders [revolters, enemies], there was no lord king [*i.e.* of the whole of Egypt]; in the day, namely, when king Ra-skenen was ruler [Heka, Hyk] of the land of the south [*i.e.* the Thebaid], the invaders holding the district of Aamou. The chief Apepi was in the palace of Ouar [Avaris]. The whole land paid homage to him, with their manufactures in abundance, as well as with all the precious things of the inhabitants of the country of the north. Now king Apepi set up Soutech for his

lord; he worshipped no other god in the whole land . . . built him a temple of durable workmanship. It came to pass that while he rose up [to celebrate] a day of dedicating . . . . a temple to Soutech, the prince [of the south, prepared] to build a temple to the sun over against it [*i.e.* in rivalry with it?] Then it came to pass that king Apepi desired to . . . king Ra-skenen . . . . the prince of the south. It came to pass a long time after this——

Here four lines are totally obliterated, having contained about as much matter as that which precedes. On the next page the narrative begins in the middle of a sentence—

. . . . with him, in case of his not consenting [to worship] all the gods, which are in the whole land, [and to honour?] Amen-Ra, king of the gods. It came to pass, many days after these things, that king Apepi sent a message to the prince of the south. The messenger [being gone?] he called his wise men together to inform them. Then the messenger of king Apepi [journeyed] to the chief of the south. [When he was arrived] he stood in the presence of the chief of the south, who said to him this saying, viz. to the messenger of king Apepi, 'What message dost thou bring to the south country? For what cause hast thou set out on this expedition?' Then the messenger answered him, 'King Apepi sends to thee, saying, he is about to go to the fountain of the cattle, which is in the region of the south, seeing that . . . . has commissioned me to search day and night.' . . . . The chief of the south replied to him, that he would do nothing hostile to him. The fact was, he did not know how to send back (refuse?) . . . the messenger of king Apepi. [Then the prince of the south] said to him, 'Behold, thy lord promised to . . .'

Here four lines are obliterated. The third page begins with three or four words concluding a sentence. Then begins a new paragraph—

Then the chief of the south called together the princes and great men, likewise all the officers and heads of . . . . and he told them all the history of the words of the message sent to him by king Apepi, before them [or according to order?] Then they cried with one voice, in anger, they did not wish to return a good answer, but a hostile one. King Apepi sent to——

At this point the tantalizing scribe snatches the cup of history from our lips, and presents us, without apology, with a totally different composition, namely, a collection of letters made by our friend the poet Penta-our. Were it not for the merciless mutilation which the above piece has suffered, it would have not been very difficult of translation, as it is in the plain narrative style of the Tale of the Two Brothers, and the context leads easily to the sense of the words. As it is, there

is much room for conjecture. In the first line I read 'the district of Aamou,' for which M. Brugsch gives 'the city of the sun,' believing Heliopolis to be the place referred to. I am much more satisfied that 'the city of the sun' is not the right translation here, than that which I have given instead, is so. Aamou was the generic name given by the Egyptians to the Asiatic nations, and it would be quite in accordance with what Manetho tells us of the Hyksos, to find the district which they inhabited called the district of the Aamou; but if that be the name here intended, it must be admitted that it is not distinctly written, and that it has not the determinative symbols which usually accompany the word. King Apepi (or Apepias, as the name may perhaps be read) is apparently one of the shepherd kings, and his name recalls that of Apophis, the fourth in the dynasty, as given in Josephus's extract from Manetho. A statue, either of or dedicated by this king, has been found in Lower Egypt bearing his name, with the epithet 'lover of Sutech.'

We now proceed to another species of composition, occupying an important place among the remains of hieratic literature. The papyri Sallier No. 1, Anastasi Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, contain collections of letters written by various scribes; Anastasi Nos. 8 and 9 contain each a single letter. These letters, or at least the more remarkable of them, form the subject of a work by the Rev. I. D. Heath, *The Exodus Papyri*, London, 1855, in which translations of a great many are given. Mr. Heath thinks that he finds in them allusions to the transactions of the Hebrew Exodus. In this I am unable to concur, and the translations which I am about to offer are widely different from Mr. Heath's, so much so that the reader who may take the trouble to compare the two, may feel inclined to doubt the value of a system which produces such different results. My acknowledgments are, however, due to Mr. Heath for much valuable assistance derived from his work in commencing the task of decipherment; the difference between our translations arises partly from the different value given to particular words, but still more from a different view of the arrangement and structure of the sentences. Mr. Heath has certainly striven conscientiously to give a meaning to every word and sign. But the truth is that a page of Coptic, if rendered in a similar way, word for word, might be made to yield astounding results. Much which Mr. Heath puts into the mouths of his scribes is excessively obscure, and he has to resort to most singular theories to explain it. I hope to succeed in making it appear that the scribes of Pharaoh expressed themselves in much

the same manner as men in a similar position in other ages and countries have been in the habit of doing. Mr. Heath imagines that these compositions, to which he hardly accords the character of letters, were intended to be chanted at funerals or festivals. My translations will show them to be genuine letters, which passed between different officers and their subordinates and comrades, and which were collected and preserved principally as models of epistolary correspondence, and for the sake of their amusing or instructive contents; just like the collections of correspondence of which modern literature has so many and various examples.

The collection in Sallier No. 1, consists of ten letters and a part of an eleventh, which we are luckily enabled to complete from another papyrus; for the compilers did not always confine themselves to the stores of their own portfolios, but borrowed letters from collections which had already become classical. The collection in question I suspect to be one of the earliest; it was made by the poet Penta-our, who modestly inserts in it but one letter of his own, while he gives us ten from the pen of his master and chief Amen-em-an. The superscription of the whole work is fortunately preserved, and runs thus:—

The beginning of the instructions of letters made by the scribe Penta-our in the tenth year, in the month Choiak; the great majesty of Pharaoh being in the house of Rameses II.

If the first words be rightly translated, we have here a clue to the object of the compilation. It was either for instruction in the art of letter-writing, or for the sake of the instructive maxims contained in the letters. I incline to the former idea, because Penta-our's own letter, as will be presently seen, does not, like those of his master, contain instruction or admonition, but might very well find a place here as a model for a junior scribe called upon to give account of his proceedings. The words 'made by the scribe Penta-our,' do not imply that he was the actual copyist of this papyrus, as Mr. Heath throughout assumes. In proof of this I refer to the papyri Sallier No. 2, and Anastasi No. 7, one of which is a duplicate of the other, but in a very different handwriting. The pieces which they contain are in both said to be made by the scribe Enna, who must consequently have been the author, not the transcriber. The name of the Pharaoh in whose tenth year Penta-our's compilation was made, is omitted, just as, in quoting an act of Queen Victoria's reign, we say an act of the tenth year of her majesty. The king in question was probably either the son

or grandson of the great Rameses II., whose praises Penta-our had sung many years before.

The letters shall now speak for themselves :—

Letter I.—**The chief librarian Amen-em-an. of the royal white house [or treasury ?] says to the scribe Penta-our, Whereas, this letter is brought to you, saying,—communication.**

I must here stop a moment to observe, that each of the letters of Amen-em-an has this formal heading, which seems to be an abbreviation of a longer formula, for the sentence beginning *whereas* has no conclusion, but is abruply broken off by the word which, after Mr. Heath, I render 'communication.' It is literally 'with-saying,' 'colloquium.' In some of the other collections the scribes, for the sake of brevity, drop the first part of the superscription, and commence with this word. The formula well known to lawyers, 'This indenture made the — day of —' &c., in which the nominative case 'indenture' never finds a verb, is an example of a similar kind of mutilation. The real substance of Amen-em-an's letter commences after the word 'communication.'

Do thou give thy attention to writing by day, whilst thou inditest by night; seeing that thou art perfectly acquainted with the deeds of the Prince [Hek], and the whole of his history; how he reviewed all the Smat; how he took their numbers; how he set the captain over the heavy troops, the lieutenant over the skirmishers. [Thou knewest him] as a child, when he left his mother's lap, when he became a man, and his bones became strong as those of an ass. This is to inspirit thee. Is there no heart within thee? Thou hast described the deeds of great men on many occasions. Are thy inkstand and thy portfolio become useless [?] thy mind a perpetual blank [lit. washed out?] Do thou consider this.

There are many minor points in which the above translation is conjectural, but I do not wish to incumber the text too much with queries, and the meaning of each word cannot be discussed or defended here. A duplicate of this letter is found in the collection Anastasi No. 5 (Pl. civ.). It contains some variations, which show that we can by no means depend upon the correctness of our copyists. What I assert with confidence is, that the above represents correctly the general purport of Amen-em-an's letter, which is, to urge Penta-our to a continuation of his historical or poetical labours. Who the prince referred to is must remain for the present in doubt. The title Hek was an old territorial one, which the kings of Egypt bore in addition to their other more extensive titles, as is the wont of the kings and princes of modern Europe. Rameses II. is called Hek in the papyrus Sallier No. 3, and in

the fragment of history in Sallier No. 1, king Ra-skenen is called Hek of the south country, as distinguished from the king of the whole of Egypt. The person here meant may be the great Rameses II. himself, and this letter may have been an incitement to the composition of that poem upon which Penta-our's fame appears principally to have rested. It is more likely, however, to have been Ba-en-ra-Meneptah, or Seti II., the successors or co-regents of Rameses. The date of the compilation tells us nothing, as this letter may have been written many years before it found insertion in the work before us.

The next letter opens upon a very different subject, and it will be seen throughout that no order or method is used in the compilation. The letters are strung together without any link of connexion.

Letter II.—The chief librarian, Amen-em-an, of the royal white house, says to the scribe Penta-our, Whereas this letter is brought to thee, saying,—communication. Why hast thou not sent provisions to the palace? Yet it is the season for calves, beasts, eggs, ducks, and vegetables. Thou didst send a message, saying, 'I will send provisions.' Now, when my letter reaches thee, thou shalt send each kind of the provisions of the very best, namely, calves, beasts, eggs, ducks, and vegetables, of those which are fit for the hall of the palace. Beware lest thou make excuse. If there are not oxen in the stall of the house of Pharaoh, which is under my keeping, thou shalt seek out four oxen, the very best and biggest, from among my cattle which are in thy keeping, which are fit for the hall of the house of Pharaoh. Beware lest thou [neglect it]. Do thou consider this.

This translation is not very far from that of Mr. Heath, but the alterations made make the letter more perspicuous. Amen-em-an appears to have the control of a royal farm, and has at the same time land of his own. Penta-our is acting for the moment as steward of these farms, and it is his duty to send in supplies of country produce to the city, in which it seems he has displayed some negligence. The formula, 'Do thou consider this,' occurs at the end of nearly all Amen-em-an's letters, and seems to have been a usual mode of winding up a letter from a superior to his inferior. Other forms will occur hereafter.

The next letter is from Penta-our to his master; it is not a reply to the preceding, but probably to some other letter now lost in which Amen-em-an complained of his steward's remissness. We now have an example of the style in which it was considered becoming for an inferior scribe to address his chief—

Letter III.—The scribe Penta-our salutes his lord, the chief libra-

rian, Amen-em-an, of the royal white house. This comes to inform my lord. Again I salute my lord. Whereas I have executed all the commissions imposed upon me by my lord well and truly, completely and thoroughly [?] I have done my lord no wrong. Again I salute my lord. Whereas the house of my lord is well, his servants are well, his oxen which are in the field are well, the oxen which are in the stall are well, eating their provender daily; yea, their keepers fetch them provender. The horses of my lord are well; I cause their mangers to be filled for them daily; yea, their grooms fetch them provender from the marshes [or papyrus-beds]. I measure them out their provender daily; I cause their troughs to be filled with water during the month of . . . . when there is great heat; their . . . . . during ten weeks [?] until the harvest is finished [?]. The uplands of the king which are under the hand of my lord are safe and well, and in good cultivation. The account of the asses of the corn, which is reaped daily....I cause them to be employed in filling a ditch [?]. I cause the ploughed lands to be filled . . . . twelve asses of the corn. But during the season of harvest . . . . I send [?] every one who can reap to the fields, the grooms, the female slaves, who carry . . . . to the manger daily, that the crops may be cut [speedily?]. I cause [to be fed] daily all the men who work at the harvesting; I supply them with drink three times in the month. Not one of them complains [?] to my lord concerning the food and the drink. I order them well and truly. Behold this message is to inform my lord.

Mutilations in this letter make the translation of several parts a very conjectural matter; and some words which can be read plainly enough stand much in need of elucidation. On the whole, this translation agrees with that of Mr. Heath as to its general purport; but I do not with him find anything satirical in it, nor do I believe that Penta-our introduced it here for any other purpose than as a specimen of letter-writing, for the profit and imitation of young scribes.

All the letters which follow are from Amen-em-an to Penta-our, and all begin with exactly the same formula as that previously given. This, for brevity's sake, shall therefore be dropped.

Letter IV.—Why is thy heart volatile, like chaff before the wind? Give thy heart to something else good for a man to do. Give [not?] thy heart to pleasure. Idleness is unprofitable; it is of no service to a man in the day of account, whether he be a slave, or whether he serves nobles assembled before him. His work is not . . his works are found wanting. He has no servants to draw water, he has no women to make bread. His comrades are disgusted, their services are withdrawn. Such is the man whose heart is not in his business, whose eye scorns it, who is proud of heart, malignant, violent, who obeys not when thou givest orders. The

business of the scribe, there is profit in it; it excels all [other] dignities of the king's nobles. Do thou consider this.

This letter is a mild admonition to Penta-our, who, we shall presently see, was a little wild in his early courses. At the time when he made this compilation he was a writer of established reputation and had probably risen to high dignities, so that he could afford to let out a little of the follies of his youth. Some freedom has been used in the translation, with which I am far from satisfied. The last paragraph, of which the sense is clear, shows that one main object of the writer was to exalt the employment of the scribe. We shall come presently to several letters of a similar tenor. Mr. Heath, whose translation runs very differently, finds here allusions to the passage of the Red Sea.

Letter V.—Whereas it has been told me that thou forsakest books, and that thou devotest thyself to pleasure [?]; that thou givest attention to the labours of the field, and turnest thy back upon theology—behold! hast thou not considered the estate of the husbandman? When he would gather in his crops, the caterpillar ravages the herb garden, the beasts devour the other things. Multitudes of rats are in the fields, the crows alight, the beasts consume, the sparrows steal. If the husbandman neglect the watching [?] of the crops, thieves will rob the field. His axe,* which is of metal, corrodes; the horses die through the labour of ploughing. The tax-gatherer [scribe of the harbour] is near [?] while he binds up the sheaves; there are police officers with staves, negroes with dates [?]—they pilfer the corn unless they are beaten off. If he [the husbandman] is carried away by intoxicating liquors, if he is as one overcome with drink, his wife is carried off [?] before him, his children are naked [?], his neighbours go away to attend to their own crops. The business of the scribe is the first in the inner chamber [lit. chamber of the women, γυναικειον], there is not its equal; the work of the scribe, there, is not its equal. Do thou consider this.

There is a duplicate copy of this letter in the collection Anastasi No. 5, from which some assistance has been gained in construing the above, but there is much still requiring elucidation. The letter which follows is in a similar strain, but presents greater difficulties. There is a duplicate of it in Anastasi No. 2 (Pl. lxxiii.), with considerable variations in the arrangement of the sentences. On the whole, this latter seems the better copy of the two.

* The word translated *axe* reads in one MS. *akau*, in the other *akasu*. It may be the Copt. *akes*, *cuspis ferrea*, Gr. ἀξίνη, Lat. *ascia*, Eng. *axe*, *hatchet*, Fr. *hache*. Perhaps it means here rather the ploughshare than an axe.

Letter VI.—The scribe is released from labour; he is the manager of all businesses; he is appointed to . . . Dost thou not carry the inkhorn? That makes a difference between thee and the rower at the oar, he is condemned to toil; thou hast not many masters, many superiors. When man comes from the womb of his mother he bows to his superior. The youth must serve the captain, the lieutenant the superior officer. The herdsman serves the farmer, the stable-boy the groom. The steward must preside over the works; his horse goes to the field; he brings vegetables for his wife and children. While his horse is gone . . . The soldier must go to Khar without a staff, without shoes; he knows not whether to choose life or death. His horse falls among wild beasts. The thief [?] hides in the bushes, the enemy rushes upon him. The soldier in a march cries to his god, Deliver me.

The writer goes on to detail the annoyances and discontents of certain other professions; and in Anastasi No. 2, the letter winds up with the words, 'the mission of the scribe is the first of all which are in this world.'

In the next letter Amen-em-an again presses Penta-our upon the subject of his literary labours.

Letter VII.—Faint-hearted one, exhortation is thrown away upon thee. Thou seest a great subject, yet dost not seize it; a story greater than any thou hast told. I give thee a hundred urgings, and thou neglectest them all. Thou art worse [?] than an ass; urge him and he is active for the day. Thou art worse [?] than the negro; threaten him, and he will carry his load. Whether to catch a bird in the nest, or to train a hawk, I would make a man of thee, thou bad youth. Do thou consider this.

The words about the bird in the nest and the hawk seem to be a quotation or a well-known proverb, expressing probably an easy and a difficult thing. They occur elsewhere, in another letter, where they are rather more intelligible. Perhaps some words have slipped out here.

The next letter appears to have been written when Amen-em-an was away from home, engaged in some mission, and thus he sighs for the comforts of college life—

Letter VIII.—O Thoth, would that I were in Sesennou [Hermopolis], thy pleasant dwelling-place, where thou art entertained with cakes and ale, where thou givest voice to jocund [?] discourse. . . . . would that when I enter into the presence of each god, I might go forth justified. [O! for] the great cellar [?] of three [?] cubits, which has spices [?] in it and grain as well as spices, and liquor as well as grain. The water-carrier dwells far off. O! that the voice of Thoth would send me the sweet rain, as to one who is thirsty. The earth is locked up when he shuts his mouth, it is opened at his voice. When his voice goes forth the parched place finds the rain: when thou . . . .

The last word is nearly erased, and I suspect that this letter is not complete. Possibly Amen-em-an was about to tell Penta-our to send him a supply of the luxuries which he so feelingly deplores the want of. The following letter contains a very pompous announcement of the return of king Ba-en-ra-Meneptah from an expedition:—

Letter IX.—Rejoice ye in all the land at the good news, at the return of the lord, the king of all lands. He is pleased to come to his house, the king, lord of myriads of years, greatest of rulers, even as Horus. Ba-en-ra Meri-amen, making Egypt to rejoice, the son of Ra, prosperity to the royal lord, Meneptah, reposing in truth, executing all justice. May ye behold truth dispelling falsehood; when he strikes down their faces, all the crocodiles turn back. The river rises, the Nile swells abundantly, to the beginning of the equinox from the hour of the moon's rising. The gods are pleased, serene, and joyous . . . . Do thou consider this.

The purport of this letter seems to be that Penta-our was to give the labourers in his employment a holiday and a feast, by way of showing the loyalty of the master Amen-em-an. A letter from a different scribe, much to the same effect, and filled with similar bombast, occurs in Anast. No. 3, which we shall mention presently.

The following runs like one of those peremptory epistles which the kings of England are in the habit of addressing to the sheriffs when it is necessary to interfere between the lieges upon a point of disputed possession. The *Registrum Brevium* will furnish some similar forms.

Letter X.—Whereas the steward Amen-em-oua, the son of Amen-em-ap, of the great house of Rameses II., within,* has notified to us, saying, 'There were given to me, twenty unploughed [?] fields, producing fodder for the horses of the king, which are under my care, but behold they have been taken away from me, and given to the major-domo Memma, of the palace of king Rameses II., in Pa-Amen [Thebes].' This is to say, when my letter reaches thee, thou shalt deliver up the twenty unploughed fields to the steward Amen-em-oua, the son of Amen-em-ap, of the great house of Rameses II., within, with all speed, immediately this letter reaches you. Ye shall restore to him the royal fields, the royal lodges, the royal stores in the royal lodges, also the royal magazines, the royal corn lands, the royal crops of . . . . the uncultivated places, and all places of pleasure, which ye pay us rent for, every one of them. Ye shall do it according to the [letter] of the roll, with . . . fixed in writing in the lodge of the royal granary.

* The word translated *within* is of doubtful meaning, but it is clear that it designates a particular palace, perhaps one that stood within the city walls, just as we say St. Botolph's Within.

The various properties to be delivered up are translated rather conjecturally, but the purport of the letter is abundantly clear.

Only three lines of the eleventh and last letter remain to us in the papyrus Sallier No. 1, but Anastasi No. 4 supplies the deficiency. It is not the least curious in the collection; I can offer only something approaching to a translation of it; the latter part of it particularly presents considerable difficulties, but I have no doubt of its general sense.

Letter XI.—Whereas it has been told me that thou hast forsaken books, and devoted thyself to pleasure [?], that thou goest from tavern to tavern, smelling of beer—at the time of evening [?] If beer gets into a man it overcomes thy mind; thou art like an oar started from its place, which is unmanageable every way; thou art like a shrine without its god, like a house without provisions, whose walls are found shaky. If thou wieldest the rod of office [?] men run away from thee. . . . . Thou knowest that wine is an abomination; thou hast taken an oath concerning strong drink that thou wouldst not put [liquor] into thee. Hast thou forgot thy resolution [?] Thou hast been taught songs concerning . . . . sayings concerning . . . . to recite . . . about . . . to sing about the . . . 'If thou sittest in the school [?], thou art compared to the sleepers; if thou standest up to play [?], thou art behindhand [?]. Dost thou sit in the presence of the daughters, art thou anointed with sweet oil, thy garland of flowers [mouse-ear?] about thy neck; thou rollest upon thy belly, thou reelest [?] thou fallest on thy belly, thou art besmeared like an egg.'

There is much guess-work here, but I believe the thread of the letter has been seized. If it be thought strange that Pentaour should introduce into his collection a letter which is not much to his own credit, it must be remembered that when this compilation was made his character was well established; and probably, after all, he did not feel himself to have entirely deserved the solemn remonstrances which his reverend friend and tutor was so fond of addressing to him. One half suspects that the alleged misdemeanours are entirely imaginary, and merely assumed as texts for Amen-em-an's sermons. The miscellaneous character of the eleven letters here given confirms the view above taken, that they were strung together as models of epistolary correspondence and nothing more. Though they are disappointingly silent upon what we call history, yet, as picturing the thoughts and habits of the Pharaonic scribe of the days of Joseph and Moses, they are of no small interest.

The papyrus Anastasi No. 2 must be described more briefly than the preceding. It opens with an historic fragment relating to a treaty made between Rameses II. and two Asiatic princes;

one the chief of the Hittites, the other of a city or country called Kati, which must not be confounded with Katesh, the capital of the Hittites. Kati was celebrated for its beer, or some kind of drink, of which we find frequent mention in the papyri. This fragment does not add much to our knowledge of the history of Rameses II.; it seems to be only introduced as a model of an historic exordium for the use of young literary aspirants.* The rest of the papyrus is occupied with eight or nine letters, some of which are found elsewhere; several are adulatory addresses to the reigning monarch, Ba-en-ra Meneptah. The handwriting is the most difficult to read of any in these papyri; but I believe the text is more correct than in others which are more distinguished for their calligraphy.

Anastasi No. 3, is a collection of documents made by a scribe named Pinebsa, in the same miscellaneous way as that of Penta-our. The beginning of the papyrus is lost, and the first letter is a mutilated fragment. The second letter is from Pinebsa to his chief, Amen-em-ap, and contains a glowing description of a place called the house of Rameses, probably the city of Rameses in Lower Egypt, which the Israelites are said to have built.† The next piece, a letter, runs as follows:—

> The scribe Amen-em-ap says to the scribe Pinebsa. Whereas this letter is brought to thee, saying—communication. Thou negligent scribe, this is to admonish thee rigorously concerning giving thy heart to pleasure [or business pursuits]; yea, rather thou shouldst shun it. Let books be in thy hand, recite with thy mouth, be assiduous in giving account of thyself. Dost thou manage the businesses of a chief, thou shalt find this when thou art old [?] —the scribe flourishes who is energetic in all his businesses.

The writer goes on with a string of similar admonitions, and concludes thus:—

> Give thy heart to obey orders; it is for thy benefit, whether to teach [some animal] to fight [?], whether to break a horse, whether to take a bird in its nest, whether to train a hawk; it is powerful in its aid; do not thou neglect it: as for letters, be not weary of them; give thy heart to obey my words. Thou shalt find letters to thy profit.

We have here again the proverb or quotation about the

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* There is another copy of it in Anast. 4. Mr. Heath, *Exod. Pap.* p. 213, has given the substantial meaning of it.

† See Brugsch, *Geographie.* Mr. Heath gives a translation of this letter at p. 73 of his work.

bird in the nest and the hawk in rather a fuller and more intelligible form than in the other case. I own the conjectural nature of several parts of the above translation; it is little satisfactory to me, but I have no doubt as to the purport of the letter, which resembles greatly some of Amen-em-an's letters to Penta-our. A copy of this letter is found in Anastasi No. 5, Pl. cii., with a continuation tacked on, unless, indeed (which I rather suspect) it be a distinct letter which follows this, the careless scribe having omitted to mark by a break or red letter the commencement of a new piece.

The next piece in Pinebsa's collection is not a letter, but a sort of funeral oration, addressed to Amen-em-ap himself, who, at the end of it, is described as deceased. The Egyptians were firm believers in the immortality of the body, and treated their departed ancestors as perpetually present with them. This is the burden throughout of the Ritual, or Book of the dead. The deceased is believed to walk and sit, to eat, drink, and sleep as he did upon the earth. Accordingly we find Pinebsa dedicating this collection to his deceased master. Here is the explicit at the end of the papyrus :—

Finished well and in peace; dedicated to the chief of his business [or profession;] singer [?] . . . royal ambassador to the whole earth; superintendent of lowlands and highlands, Amen-em-ap, deceased. Written in the 3rd year, the 28th day of . . .

We find several other precisely similar dedications in the papyri, only they are made to living persons instead of a dead one, of which this is the only instance.

After the funeral oration follows a complimentary address to some person in high position, and of literary eminence, whom we may conjecture to have been the successor of Amen-em-ap in his presidency of the college to which Pinebsa belonged. Then come three letters from Amen-em-ap to Pinebsa, in the first of which the writer contrasts the life and condition of an *Ouaou*, which means, apparently, a foot soldier or infantry officer, with that of a scribe. The rough usage and disasters to which the young recruit is subjected are painted in amusing detail. The next letter contains a similar picture of the business of a cavalry soldier, with the same moral, namely, the exaltation of the scribe's lot above that of all other men. Of the concluding letter of the papyrus I will attempt a translation.

The scribe Amen-em-ap says to the scribe Pinebsa,—Whereas this letter comes to thee saying,—communication. When my letter reaches thee, thou shalt take fifty ounces [?] of [some metal of which swords and cutting instruments were made, perhaps bronze], nay,

even an hundred ounces, at the hand of Aai, the scribe of the metals [cashier], according to the number of the Smat of the temple of Rameses II., the sun-born, in An [On, Heliopolis], in order to deliver it to the workmen quickly, in the hour when Ba-en-ra Meriamen, the high admiral, the victorious weapon, the strong scimitar smiting foreign nations, the hand-javelin, returns to the place of his birth in An. He went out conquering the whole earth. Fortunate is the day of thy return; sweet is thy word of command, when thou buildest the house of Rameses II., where every land draws near [?], where every country approaches [?], where there are seen splendid garments, vessels of lapis-lazuli and brass, the place of exercise of thy horsemen, the place of review of thy bowmen, the place where thy captains harbour their vessels, bringing the tributes. Honoured be thou when thou approachest to thy slaves . . . . . when they behold the prince [Hek] standing up to fight; the enemy [?] do not stand before him, they are afraid. [We are ?] thy creatures, O! Ba-en-ra Meriamen. Thou art eternal, thou art eternal, thou art established on the seat of thy father Pharaoh.

This letter relates to the same king whose return to his palace is mentioned in the ninth letter of Penta-our's collection. It is possible that the occurrence here referred to took place in the life-time of his father Rameses II. From the titles, it is not easy to know whether Ba-en-ra is addressed as a sovereign or as a subject. He would seem to have been employed in superintending the building of the city of Rameses II.; and the last words in the letter may, perhaps, express no more than that he was made co-regent with his father. This is the supposition of Miss Corbaux, whose ingenious speculations upon the chronology and events of this period are prefixed to Mr. Heath's work; but which, I must observe, find little support in these papyri, if I have succeeded in rightly interpreting them. Miss Corbaux thinks that Ba-en-ra died before his father; Lepsius assigns him an independent reign of twenty years—I presume, upon some monumental authority. He may, notwithstanding, have been co-regent for some years before his father's death.

Certain people called *Smat* (or Semt, as Mr. Heath reads it) are spoken of here as attached to the temple of Rameses II. in On. They have been mentioned once before in the first letter in Penta-our's collection, where the Hyk (most likely Ba-en-ra) is said to have enrolled or reviewed them. Who and what these people were is a question not yet solved. Mr. Heath takes them for the Israelites. The word *Smat* or Semt, however, does not seem to be a national name, certainly not the name of a foreign people, as it has not the determinatives which usually follow such words. It seems rather to designate

some caste, class, or trade. It has been thought to mean the labourers or serfs bound to the soil belonging to the temples or royal palaces, who may either have been aborigines or foreign captives. It will appear presently that *Smat* were found at the southern extremity of Egypt as well as at On. They also appear to have spoken a dialect unintelligible to the pure Egyptians.

The next papyrus, Anastasi No. 4, contains twenty-one pieces, some of them imperfect; they are principally letters. A fragment of the first page bears the name of Enna and a date, the first year of some king, in all probability Seti II., whose name occurs in the papyrus. It may probably be inferred that Enna was the compiler of this collection, which comprises, as we have already seen, several pieces taken from earlier collections. It contains a good deal of his own correspondence, but many of the letters have neither the names of the writers nor of the persons to whom they were addressed. One piece is a letter of adulation to the reigning monarch Seti II., and is a copy of one contained in Anast. No. 2, where the monarch addressed is Ba-en-ra Meneptah—his predecessor. Some of the letters are upon matters of business, and the last two are particularly valuable, from their containing long lists of provisions, furniture, and miscellaneous stores, which the scribe, to whom they are addressed, is ordered to procure for the use of the king. Others are of a familiar and private character, like some we have seen in the previous collections. It is evident that the object of such a compilation can have been no other than that of our *Complete Letter Writers*, to furnish the young scribes with models of various kinds for their imitation. I will give a few specimens.

(Pl. lxxxv. l. 8.) When I arrived at Abou [Elephantine], I performed my commission. I reviewed the soldiers of the cavalry, the temples, the Smat, the lieutenants of the lodges, the captains of his majesty. Do thou go and give intelligence thereof to the principal register office. My commission swells like the Nile. Give me thy pity [lit. heart].

This letter shows us that there were *Smat* at Elephantine, the southern limit of Egypt, which is not in favour of the idea of their being Israelites.

The next letter to the preceding is written apparently from Memphis, but neither writer nor person addressed are named (Pl. lxxxv. l. *ult.*). The writer complains of being oppressed with business, and worn out with excess of watching, and he prays Ptah to bring his correspondent to Memphis to help him in his difficulties.

In Pl. lxxxix. l. 7, we have a letter from a steward to his employer, but with no names given. Mr. Heath translates it (*Exod. Papyri*, p. 218,) and connecting it with the two succeeding pieces (with which I believe it has nothing to do), he finds in it allusions to the events of the Exodus. The reader must be referred to his book to see the ingenious way in which this is done. If the translations here offered be sound, these theories will fall to pieces of themselves. Here is the letter in question. The meaning of the opening words is rather doubtful.

Whereas it is but a short time that I am with thee, yet thou placest a load upon my back; thy reproofs come to my ears; I am like a galloping horse. Do I not go, do I not search in my heart by day, is it not present with me at night, namely, how I may act for the benefit of my lord, like a servant useful to his lord? I have built thee a house of granite; it is for thy residence, it is floored with timber [or planted with trees], through its whole extent. Thy stables, as well as thy granaries, are full of grain—[Here follow about twenty different kinds of seeds and fruits, which must be left untranslated]. Thy ox-stalls are . . . . thy breeding cows are fruitful. I have made thee a garden [?] of herbs to the south of thy estate; it abounds with melons [?] sugar-canes, fruits fit for food [?]. Let thy boats come loaden; thou seest what I [?] have done. May Ptah the beneficent grant thee that which thou desirest.

The scribe has omitted to insert the usual rubric to mark the beginning of another letter; a small space is, however, left, and then follows a copy of a letter contained in Anast. No. 3, namely, that from Amen-em-ap to Pinebsa, in which the condition of the Ouaou, or foot-soldier, is described. No names are given here, and the introductory words of the epistle are slightly altered, thus: 'Dost thou say that the soldier's [life] is more agreeable than the scribe's? let me tell thee the condition of the soldier,' &c. At the end of this letter follows, without any break whatever, something which looks like a comment of Enna the compiler upon the piece which he has just quoted. I translate it thus:—

The scribe Enna replies to the section concerning the scribe's [life] being pleasanter than the soldier's: May Amen deliver me from the cold season, when the sun does not shine, the winter* comes instead of summer, the month is stormy, the hours shortened [?]. The great ones cry to thee, O Amen! the little ones seek thee, they who are in

* M. Brugsch was the first to point out the groups meaning summer and winter. See his *Nouvelles Recherches sur la Division de l'Année des Anciens Egyptiens*. Berlin, 1856, p. 10, where a few words of this passage are translated.

the laps of their nurses. Give us thy breath. O Amen! When Amen hears, the sweet wind blows from before him. He grants me to be winged like a vulture, like a pinnace rigged, bidding [?] the . . . . go to the fields, the washers to the pools, the soldiers to go forth to the country [?], the . . . . to the pools (?).

A letter in Pl. xci. l. 8, in which Mr. Heath finds mention of a royal order allowing the Israelites to quit Egypt, appears to me to be nothing more than the calling to account of a scribe by his superior officer for not getting provisions ready for certain spies about to set out upon a foreign mission. It is succeeded by a letter, which has been already translated, namely, that in which Amen-em-an admonishes his pupil Penta-our as to his drunken habits; after which comes one on the subject of hunting, with a postscript about a scribe who has a toothache. These I must endeavour to give to the reader.

(Pl. xciii. l. 5.) Since I have been stationed in Kankan I have made no preparation for thee, there being no one to make brick, no straw at hand, except that brought to me by . . . . . There are no asses of burden. My occupation is to look towards the heavens, that I may find the eye of cheerfulness. The way up to Dja is covered with palms yielding nothing fit to eat, except their dates, which are not yet ripe [?]. If the master comes in the dawn of the bird, in the season of the quail [?], the legs are active, each vein is full. I shall walk like one strong in bone, traversing the marshes on foot. Then let the barrels be opened which are full of beer of Kati,* while men go forth to prepare the vessels for the journey. There are 200 great hounds,† besides 300 wolf-dogs, 500 in all. They stand ready every day at the door of the house at the time of my rising from sleep. They make their breakfast [?] when the barrel is opened. Let me have none of the little dogs of the breed of Ha, the royal scribe. He [*i. e.* this kind of dog] is a stay-at-home. Deliver me from them. Hour after hour at the time when I go out, when I am about to go abroad, I must flog him, I must kick him, until the thongs [?] of the whip [?] fall one after another. The red dog with the long tail, he goes by night into the stalls of the oxen. He is equal to the long-faced [dog]. He makes no delay in hunting. His face is joyful [?] like a god—loose him, he is delighted. The kennel where he abides he returns not to it [?]. Postscript—Whereas a certain scribe of registration [?] is abiding with me, every vein of whose face is swelled, ophthalmia

* Can Kati be Gath of the Philistines? The name Gath means a wine-press, and it is not at all certain that the oft-mentioned *hek*, translated *beer*, was not a more generous liquor, perhaps a kind of palm wine.

† The same animals, I believe, as those to which Anepou is said to have thrown his wife, in the Tale of the Two Brothers. The word translated 'wolf-dogs' is identical with the Coptic *ouonsh*, 'wolf.'

is in his eyes, the worm gnaws his tooth :—I know not how to send him away entirely. My stores are sufficient ; let him receive his rations whilst he remains in the neighbourhood of Kankan.

The two concluding letters of the papyrus consist almost entirely of lists of objects to be provided for the king's use, upon what particular occasion does not appear.

Anastasi No. 5, contains twenty letters, a few of which are copies of those contained in other papyri. Sometimes they commence simply with the word 'communication;' in other cases the names of the writers and their correspondents are given. I suspect that the former are letters borrowed from some previous collection, and that those in which names are given are such as the compiler took from correspondence of which he possessed the originals. This papyrus, like Anastasi No. 4, is very well written, but by a different copyist. The collection appears to have been made in the reign of Seti II., whose name occurs several times. I shall give translations of some of these letters.

(Pl. cvii. l. 2.) Whereas I have heard the message which thou hast sent to me touching the ox,* behold, I know not the place where thy son has put the ox. Behold, has he not taken it away, and given it to the fan-bearer Ousekh-aten [wide ears]. But if thy heart is set upon the ox, give me the seeds [?], the cat, the garment, the pouch, the ten measures of wheat, the ten measures of barley, which thou didst promise me when thou toldest me to write to my son, when he went away to Khar. I will send him back to the fortress, it being his turn to go to Egypt for six years.

Upon this follows a letter headed by the words 'another speech,' and which is probably a *postscript* to the preceding.

Postscript from Ankh-nou Katuti. I know Ankh-nou the [daughter of] Kar-mahou. I send a message on her behalf, saying : Let me have the head of cattle which I . . . . . Behold, did I not bring them before the scribes of the magistrate, in their house ? I told them . . . . that I would come back to their house again. But do justice to me ; behold, if [thou dost] not come to meet them, when we appear before the magistrate, grant us delay that we may . . . . . may send the asses of the king to their stalls and their food [stomachs]. I hope that your excellency† will give attention to my letter. Be not neglectful of it ; be not offended, let not thy tran-

* Mr. Heath translates this word 'vessel,' p. 140. I am doubtful if 'ox' be the right meaning. The word is expressed by a single symbol, which much resembles that known to stand for an ox in hieratic.

† This is the formula usually appended to the name of the king. It is literally, 'thy life, thy health, thy strength.' Mr. Heath has 'thy majesty,' but I doubt if this letter was addressed to the king.

quility be disturbed. Thou art fixed as the hours, firm is thy condition, long thy duration, gracious are thy answers. Thine eye beholdeth that which is good, thou hearest that which is just; thou beholdest the good, thou hearest the truth; thou art prosperous in thy business, thou art worshipped like a god . . . . thou stretchest out thy hand to every one that is poor; thou raisest up whomsoever is fallen; thou establishest him that is cast down. There is none who can argue with thee. When thou comest before the assembly of the gods, thou goest forth justified.

The latter part of this complimentary speech occurs in another letter in Anastasi No. 4. It is evidently a common form of adulation, and has no special reference to a particular transaction, as Mr. Heath thinks. Justification in the day of judgment, on appearing before the forty-two assessors of Hades, was what every Egyptian prayed for, and we have seen Amen-em-an ejaculating this prayer while deploring the loss of the comforts of his cellar. It was, no doubt, considered an appropriate climax to a string of compliments addressed by an inferior to a great man to express a confident belief in his salvation. The supposed allusion to the rebel Moses, and a usurping king or viceroy, Siptah, which Mr. Heath finds in this letter, vanish entirely in the above translation.

The next letter is a duplicate of that in Sallier No. 1, about the inconveniences of the agricultural life; and that which follows it is in the same strain as the admonitory letter of Amen-em-an to Penta-our, about the frequenting of taverns. It is probably the composition of the same respectable scribe, but we have no names.

(Pl. cxi. l. 3). Having heard, saying, that thou goest after pleasure—turn not thy face away from my advice; dost thou not give thy heart to all the words of the votaries of pleasure? thy limbs are alive, thy heart is of those who sleep. I, thy superior, forbid thee to go to the taverns. Thou art degraded [?] like the beasts. But we may see many like thee; they are haters of books, they honour not God. God regards not the breakers of oaths,* the illiterate. On the contrary, those who follow letters, their names are chosen for sending upon embassies. Thou mayest look at me . . . When I was as young as thou, I passed my time under the rod [?]; it tamed my members. When three months were ended I was dedicated to the house of God. My father and mother were in the country [far away ?], my kindred [?] likewise gone, I am free, I seek advancement. I became one of the first in all kinds of learning which is found in books. Do according to my advice, and thy limbs will be sound, where thou art found . . . thou art not rejected [?].

* An allusion, perhaps, to the temperance pledge, mentioned in Amen-em-an's lecture to Penta-our.

I shall now give a specimen of the military style of communication. The papyrus is unfortunately mutilated in parts of this letter :—

(Pl. cxiii. l. 2.) The captain of bowmen, Ka-kam [Black-bull], [of the land of] Tekou, to the captain of bowmen Ani, and the captain of bowmen, Bek-en-Ptah. By the life* of the worshipper of Amen-Ra, king of the gods, his majesty Seti-Meneptah, our gracious royal lord. I pray that Phra-Horus may establish the king, our gracious royal lord, may he accomplish millions of festivals, and may we worship him continually. Communication—Whereas I went to them of the hall of the palace, on the 9th of Epiphi, at the time of evening, in pursuit of the two slaves ; but when I arrived at the fortress of Tekou, on the 10th of Epiphi, they said that they were gone off to the south. This is to say, when the . . . day of Epiphi arrived . . . . reached the fortress. They said to me, the . . . . gone to the field of . . . they approached the valley [?] close by the town of Seti-Meneptah I. . . . . When my letter reaches you, send me information concerning everything which has been done. . . . . Dispatch seven [?] troops ; dispatch numbers of men [to search] after them. Send me information of all that has been done . . . . Do ye send plenty of men after them. Farewell.

The next is a letter from a son to his father :—

(Pl. cxiv. l. 6.) The scribe Amen-mesou salutes [his] father, captain of bowmen, Bek-en-Ptah. By the life of the worshipper of Amen-ra, king of the gods, I pray to Phra-Horus, to Atmou, and his community of gods, that thou mayest be well continually. Communication—Prithee send me word of thy condition [lit. thy arm], and thy health, by the hand of every man who comes from thee, seeing that I desire to hear of thy condition daily. Thou hast not informed me well; nay, but rather badly. Yea! not a man of those whom thou hast sent to visit me, has told me concerning thy condition. Pray send me word of thy condition, of the condition of thy servants, every one of them ; seeing that my desire [heart] is towards them greatly. Moreover, send thou me some good loaves, and fifty small [?] cakes. The messenger [?] brought twenty of them. [This is] to say, I am undone, if he does not continue to bring fodder . . . . . because he did not inform me of the evening when he would come to me. Do thou send some butter and oil, two boxes [?] by his hand. Farewell.

I am not clear whether the writer does not say that he sends the provisions in question to his father, instead of asking to have them sent to him. The Egyptian text possibly would allow either construction.

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* Literally, 'By the life, health, and strength,' or 'By the majesty.' I believe the whole expression here is equivalent to our shorter formula, 'In the king's name,' or 'On his majesty's service.'

In Pl. cxvi. l. 6, we have a letter of general admonition upon the conduct and behaviour becoming a scribe. There are several lacunæ in it, which prevent our making sense of some parts. It is in the vein of Amen-em-an :—

Whereas I am appointed to the chair of instruction [among] the children of the nobles, to instruct and to conduct these great businesses, behold, I will tell thee the duty of a scribe, as one who has sat in thy scribe's office before thy time. Pay attention to thy garments, keep thy sandals clean ; thou shalt take thy clothes [?] daily to . . . . . Do not neglect them, every three [days ?], one after the other . . . . . When thou hast finished inditing letters, thou shalt change [?] clothes. Art thou called upon to recite words . . . . with thy mouth, the book in thy hand, dictate with thy mouth accurately. Thou shalt not idle, thou shalt not pass the day in indolence, lolling [?] with thy limbs. When engaged in the business of thy chief, obey his precepts . . . . . avoid speaking reproachful words.

The next letter follows without the smallest mark of division, as happens in several other places in this papyrus. It is from the officer of infantry, Ani, and the officer of infantry, Bek-en-Amen, to another officer named Ma-men, and relates to the transport of certain obelisks (?) to a foreign place named Djarou. I shall not attempt a translation, but pass to the next, which is of greater interest :—

(Pl. cxix. l. 2.) Captain Mai, of Tekou, to the chief of mercenaries,* Enna, of the race of Phra, the captain of bowmen, Ini, of the race of Phra, in the name, &c. Communication—Whereas captain Ani, captain of captains, notified to me, saying, 'The chief said to us, "Make a census of the men." But we said to him, "If we call out the names by which each of them is named, they will not answer to their names." Let the captain Mai, of Tekou, give them tickets . . . . . if they do not give the tickets in due form. Moreover, whereas it was notified, saying, "If we call out their names before you, when they are brought to you, do ye not say, on the contrary, ye have rejected the plan of calling name by name ? Yet ye say, 'Dost thou not know the signals of the mercenaries, and their words of command ? Thy intercourse with them has been extensive. In truth, thou art the child of the Smat ; thou art not a chief ; thou wast brought from another [or a small] place, to set thyself on an equality with the nobles ; thou knowest their custom of answering to their names. Do ye, therefore, bring them to me . . . . . they speak the language of the inhabitants of Egypt. Thou

* There is much doubt about the meaning of this word Madjaiou. Mr. Heath calls them Midianites, but the Hebrew equivalent would be מצאים.

art of the race of the mercenaries. Let us say again a few words; do ye listen to them. Thou hast done according to that which belonged to thee; do they not know how to bear it?'" Farewell.

There is much obscurity in the way in which the parties are mixed up here, and it is difficult to make sense of the latter part of the letter. But the general meaning seems sufficiently clear, that the officers of pure Egyptian blood, of the race of the sun, had difficulty in managing certain troops or workmen of foreign extraction, and request Mai to assist them, as being himself sprung from their tribe. The Smat seem to be identified with the mercenaries (Madjaiou). Mai himself is described as of Tekou, or Dag; but what place this was has not been, as far as I know, clearly made out. The determinative shows that it was a foreign country.

The five papyri last described contain, as has been shown, collections of a most miscellaneous character. Three papyri have now to be mentioned which belong to a class different from the preceding.

Anastasi No. 6, contains four letters, or fragments of letters, from the scribe Enna to his chief Ka-kabou, apparently all relating to one affair. The papyrus is headed with the name and titles of Seti-Meneptah II. in magnificent characters; but the year of his reign is not given. On the back we find 'The year 1,' which seems meant to supply the omission in the superscription. This papyrus certainly appears intended as an official record of a transaction, rather than a specimen of literary composition. Enna gives an account of a long dispute between himself and some other officers about the management of certain work-people, whose employment seems to have been weaving or making of clothes, for a list of different kinds of garments or fabrics is given, said to be of their workmanship. These people are sometimes described with the mark of the common gender, sometimes with that of the feminine alone. Mr. Heath calls them 'Spondists.' The word is a puzzling one, and stands in need of elucidation. We find mention made of an officer named Mesu, which may possibly be the Egyptian for Moshe or Moses (מֹשֶׁה), though it is worthy of notice that the name of Ra-mesu or Rameses, in which the same two syllables occur, is transcribed in Hebrew רַעַמְסֵס—Ra-meses. Be this as it may, I see nothing in the papyrus to warrant the idea that the Mesu or Moses here mentioned is identical with the Hebrew patriot. The name was probably not uncommon among the Egyptians. Mr. Heath finds here mention of 'Aramites' and 'confederates'; the word which he has thus translated *aruma*, I believe to be merely

a preposition, signifying 'together with,' in which sense it occurs in the hieroglyphical inscription containing the treaty of Rameses II. with the king of the Hittites. On the whole, this papyrus, though interesting in some parts, does not seem to have great historical importance. Its exact meaning, however, is not clear to me, and I shall not attempt a translation here.

Anastasi No. 8, contains but a single letter from a scribe named Ra-mesou to another named Teti-em-heb. It is so much mutilated that the nature of its contents can be little more than guessed at.

Anastasi No. 9, also contains a single letter from the scribe Oura to the scribe Ra-mesou, the author, it may be presumed, of the previous letter. The writer exculpates himself from some blame which had been attached to him concerning the management of his chief's cattle. Mutilations interfere much with the satisfactory decipherment of this papyrus.

I have now gone through the epistolary part of these papyri. The next to be noticed is Anastasi No. 1, which introduces us to a different species of composition. It is what we should call a biographical memoir of a scribe, written by his pupil, and addressed to the object of the memoir himself. The Egyptians were great adepts at flattery, and here is a fine specimen of the art. The author commences by a dedicatory address, in which he ascribes to his patron every virtue under heaven. The hero's name has unfortunately been torn out; he appears to have been the son of Oun-nofer (a name which has descended to modern times in the form of Onuphrius) and his wife Ta-ouser, and to have held high offices about the person of the king. After the writer has run himself out of breath in stringing together laudatory epithets, the words 'your excellency,'* in red letters, announce the actual commencement of the narrative, which is continued throughout in the second person. Letters written by the patron are sometimes woven in as well as the anecdotes and discourses with which he was wont to edify his followers. Mutilations are so numerous that some fragments only can be translated. The seventh section commences thus:—

(Pl. xlii. l. 7). Thou didst speak saying: 'Inactive, inglorious scribe, that foldest thy arms, &c. I know many men inglorious, inactive, abject, unheroic, they abound in houses full of feasting . . . let me tell thee the business of a scribe . . . [then follows the de-

* Literally 'your life, your strength, your health,'—the usual pendant to a king's name. It is pretty clear, however, that the personage addressed in this papyrus was not a king.

scription of the model scribe] . . . Hast thou heard the name of Amen-ouah-sou, one of the elders of the royal white house; he lived . . years, and was still vigorous, &c. I will tell thee of a captain of archers who was in An [Heliopolis], &c.

At the end of this quotation the writer himself again speaks :—

Hail, my master, . . . behold, I seek after thy [instructions], I delight in them.

In the eighth section mention is made of a prayer (?) of the noble Har-tataf, 'a great mystery,' upon which a commentary is given, through which I do not see my way. The 64th chapter of the Ritual, which is remarkable from its containing a reference to king Menkeres, is associated with prince Har-tataf. The meaning of the passage (*Todtenbuch*, cap. lxiv., col. 31) appears to be that in the days of king Menkeres, prince Har-tataf either composed this chapter or found it inscribed in a temple at Hermopolis. It is there described as 'a great mystery' (col. 32); and is probably the prayer alluded to in our papyrus.

The next section (Pl. xlv. l. *ult.*), appears to be a dispute about the pedigree of the writer, or his claim to the rank which he held. He says: 'Thou wilt find my name in the roll of . . . in the house of Rameses II.' &c. We next get an account of various active services in which the patron distinguished himself; amongst others, that of directing the transport and erection of an obelisk. It would not be difficult to give approximate translations of some of these passages, but this would involve a good deal of guess-work, and I shall pass now to the most interesting part of the papyrus; that, namely, which relates an expedition of the patron to Palestine, and contains a number of names of cities which he is said to have visited.

(Pl. li. l. 2.) The writer begins, addressing his patron :—

Thou chosen scribe, tried of heart . . . thou art a lamp in the darkness before thy troops, to enlighten them. Thou wast sent on a mission to Rahana, before the army, to prepare for it the roads of the enemy [or the bad roads] which are called those of the Aaruna. The soldiers [native troops?] who were with thee were 1200 in number; Shartana 220, Kahaka 1300, Mashawasha negroes 480, making 3200 in all . . . the provisions were brought before thee, bread, beeves, wine. The number of the men was multiplied unto thee, yea, the things were too few for them.

The men are put upon half rations and a mutiny follows, which is suppressed by the determination of the leader.

Such, at least, I suspect to be the meaning of the passage. The next chapter says:—

Thy letters abound in instruction [?], they are loaded with great words . . Do thou begin again to speak, let us be gratified according to that which thou hast promised. Would that we were on the way. Thou makest ready, thou yokest the horses, swift as roes [?] . . . like a gust of wind when it bursts forth . . . Thou takest the bow, we behold the deeds of thy hand; I find in it the picture of the captain [Mahar, some kind of officer, possibly what we should call a military engineer]. . . . Dost thou not go to the land of Heth? Dost thou not behold the land of Aup? Kharuma, dost thou not know its appearance? Ikatai, likewise, how great it is? The . . . of Rameses, the region of Khir [abu], with its . . . and its fleet; how numerous is it! Dost thou not journey to Kati and Tubakhi? Dost thou not go to Shasu with the bowmen? Dost thou not tread the road to the mountain [?] of heaven . . . at the time when it was luxuriant with *aoun* [tree], with cypress and acacia,* piercing the heaven. There are multitudes of bears [?], lions, wild boars [?], which the Shasu hunt after. Dost thou not ascend the hill Shawa? . . . . . [The Mahar retires to his tent fatigued with the labours of the day, and now comes an adventure.] It is the time of the beginning of the night; it is cold [?], thou art alone . . . Does there not come a thief to steal thy clothes [?] He goes to the stalls of the horses, he . . . backwards in the night; he takes thy clothes. Thy groom rises in the night; he sees him carrying off his booty. He falls in with mischief, a place filled with Madjaiou and Shasou. He simulates [?] the appearance of an Aamou. The enemy having finished plundering . . . things become quiet [?]. Thou risest up; dost thou not pursue them . . . . . I will speak to thee also of the mysterious [holy?] place, namely, Senpouna [or Hapouna]; it is a great city. Their goddess is Kisep.† Dost thou not go the way looking towards Baruta [Berytus] and Dja [tu] na [Zidon], Djarputa [Zarephath]?‡ The boats of Djana and of Tennouautou, how numerous are they! I must mention also the city of the sea, Djaru [Zor, Tyre] of the waters is its name. It receives water by means of boats; it abounds in fish fit for food.

I speak to thee also . . . . . of the taking of Djaruaou [Palæ-Tyrus?]. Thou didst burn it to ashes . . . . Mayest thou now set out to return to Kaikna. The road is by Aksapu [Achsaph] leading to the upper province looking towards the mountain Ouser, whose top

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* The same word as that translated *acacia* in the romance. From this passage (query), whether it be not a taller kind of tree—perhaps cedar?

† Have we here the Cassiopeia of the Greeks, the mother of Andromeda, the scene of whose adventure is placed lower down the coast at Joppa.

‡ The names of these three places were first identified, I believe, by Dr. Hincks. *Trans. Royal Irish Acad.* 1848.

is very high. It is the high land of Ikama; its numbers, who can count them? The captain marches to Hadjar [Hazor]. How great is the number of its boats. Would that I might go to Hamata [Hámath], Tekar, Tekar-aran, the place of meeting of all the captains, looking towards the . . . . . road. Let me behold Ian . . . . I will speak to thee of other places which remain to which didst thou not go?—the land of Ta[ni]sa, Kafirmarruna, Tamenneh, Katesh, Tapour, Adjai, Harnemmi? Didst thou not behold Karta-anbou with Bita-toupra?* dost thou not know Atur [na], Djataputa likewise. Knowest thou not the name of Khanrudja, which is in the land of Aup? there are oxen in its provinces; it is the abode of the lyers in wait, bold men all; it looks towards the statue [?] Sina. Let me hear of Rehabo [Rehob]; let me visit Bita-shaaran and Tarka-aran, the boats of Irtuna [Jordan?] fast sailing. Let me tell of the attempt to sack Makta [Megiddo?], which was made against it. Thou art the captain, expert in deeds of courage; where is a captain like thee, to lead the way before his troops? where is the chief [Marina, Syriac מרן, *lord*], who can be compared with thee to shoot? When [they came] to the ford of . . . . the rock of . . . . 2000 cubits high; it is of . . . . stone. Thou makest a halt [?], thou takest thy bow, thou puttest thy shield [?] on thy left hand, thou beholdest the chiefs graciously, they yield before thee. Bring bread, prepare venison for the captain to eat. Thou art named captain, lord of the pioneers [?] of the land of Egypt. Thy name is like that of Kadjartui, the chief of Asar [Assyria?], when he found the wild boars [?] in the wood, on the rough road of the Shasou, lying in wait beneath the . . . . trees. They were of four cubits from their tail to their mouth; their heart is untameable, they list not to cajoling. Thou art alone; there is no . . . with thee. Is not the . . . . behind thee? Thou findest no . . . to make an attack . . . . Thou knowest not the way. Thy face is . . . . the hair of thy head stands up; thy soul is in thy hand; thy way is full of flint-stones, it is difficult to find, abounding in thorns and bushes, briers and wolf's-foot [some plant]. The precipices [?] are on one side of thee, the mountain steep on the other. Thou proceedest to urge on thy chariot towards it. The driver [?] of thy horses is frightened; they forsake the guidance of thy hand; he runs off to pursue thy horses, he falls down, thou remainest; the horses kick the chariot out of the road . . . . thou knowest not how to control them; the shafts [?] are broken from their place; the horses refuse to bear them. Thy heart is afflicted, thou beginnest to cry to heaven; thirst comes upon thee; the enemy is behind thee. Thou takest the bow . . . . the horses become tranquil [?], at the same time thou findest repose. Thou seest that the sore trouble [is past?]; thou art arrived at Ip [qu. Joppa, יפו]. Thou findest the fruit trees

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* In the former of these words 'Karta' is the Hebrew קרית, in the other 'Bita' answers to בית.

blooming in their season; thou hast abundance of food. Thou findest the fair damsel who keeps the gardens. . . .

While enjoying the pleasures of this agreeable place, another accident happens to the traveller. His horses run away in the night, and chariot and harness get damaged. He meets, however, with experienced and friendly workmen, both carriage-builders and harness-makers, who execute the necessary repairs.

The narrative of this journey occupies ten pages out of the twenty-eight which the papyrus contains. The translation given is, I am well aware, most imperfect, and requires immense corrections in details. The MS. abounds in mutilations, which greatly increase the difficulties of the translator. The reader will therefore, I hope, look with indulgence upon this attempt to lay before him the outline of a tour in Palestine made more than 3000 years ago. That Palestine really was the scene of these adventures, the names Berytus, Sarepta, and Tyre, which have been satisfactorily identified, leave no doubt. It is rather remarkable that no name occurs which admits of identification with Damascus. I must refer the reader to the second part of the *Geography* of M. Brugsch, in which the foreign nations known to the Egyptians are treated of, for the most recent speculations upon the names mentioned in our papyrus.

We have hitherto had to deal with compositions of a prosaic nature, or which, at least, do not rise much above the level of everyday language. I now come to a papyrus of a different character, and which presents much greater difficulties than any of those previously described. Sallier No. 2 contains three separate pieces; two of them, and probably also the third, the composition of the scribe Enna, the author of the Tale of the Two Brothers. They are in a poetical style, much more compressed and obscure than that of any other of the works of the age of Seti II. with which we are acquainted. Although their general scope admits of being clearly made out, I am not in a position to offer anything like a complete satisfactory interpretation of them at present, and must be content with giving an outline of their contents. The first is headed thus—

The beginning of the instructions given by his majesty king Rashotep-het, son of the sun, Amen-em-ha, deceased; speaking counsels of truth [or precious counsels] to his son, the lord of all.

The word 'instructions' has usually been translated 'adorations,' through the confusion of two separate words, *sbai* and *sbau*, and the piece was understood to contain adorations

offered to Amen-em-ha. Lepsius pointed out this error,* and gave the true meaning, *sprüche* (*gebete, weisheit*), maxims, wisdom. In numerous places in which I have found it, it evidently indicates the authoritative teaching, or commands of a superior, to which our word 'instructions' answers very well. We have seen that Penta-our's collection of letters was headed, 'The beginning of the *instructions* of letters,' where the same word is used. It is preserved in the Coptic *sbooue, doctrinæ.* On examining the composition itself, we find that it, in fact, purports to be the political testament of Amen-em-ha, the first king of the great 12th dynasty, to his son Ousertasen, who is mentioned by name in Pl. xii. l. 3. The expression 'lord of all,' a title which frequently occurs, perhaps means heir to all the possessions of his father. As Amen-em-ha lived, at a moderate computation, 1000 years before Enna wrote this piece, it cannot be regarded as of much historical value; but it is interesting as showing the ideas that prevailed in the time of Seti II. as to the great founder of the Theban supremacy. After the heading, the piece proceeds thus:—

He saith, 'Rise up like a god, listen to the words that I speak unto thee. Thou art a king, thou art a ruler of provinces, over the good things which I have multiplied. Let the Smat be kept in order, for men are not content when they are exalted. Thou art amongst them but one alone, in thy magnanimity, like a brother, not a master. In making thyself accessible to men there is infinite safety.'

We have here again mention of the Smat or Semt, but as to the nature of the directions given regarding them I am by no means clear. The word translated 'kept in order,' *sakou*, is determined by the figure of a crocodile, which I imagine to indicate some hostile kind of proceeding, but this is not certain. The Coptic furnishes us with a root, *sok*, which, among divers other meanings, has those of *opprimere, affligere, castigare.* If this be really an injunction to keep under and afflict the Smat, whom we have seen there is reason to think were a class of inhabitants of Egypt, speaking a strange language, the fact is a curious one, this book being no doubt meant for the reading of king Seti II., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, according to Lepsius, and in whose first year, moreover, it was probably written. The rest of the passage, if rightly translated, does not seem in harmony with this however, unless the frank and conciliatory policy therein recommended were meant only to apply to

* *Chronologie*, p. 49, note.

the genuine Egyptian race, or those who are here styled, *par excellence*, men (Egypt. *temmou*, a word apparently identical with the Hebrew אָדָם). But a few slight alterations in the turning of the sentence, and in the meaning assigned to one or two of the words, might so completely overthrow the sense above given, that it is not worth while to base theories upon it. The king proceeds to inculcate to his son certain other duties to which his high position called him, and enforces his precepts by reference to his own career. He relates the splendour in which he had lived, and his success in subduing rebels. He describes a great battle which took place, which was attended with important results. 'There was no end of every good thing, so that I cannot tell it.' The king seems to have been surprised in his bed by insurgents, but showed great personal valour, and himself captured 'a rebel with arms in his hand.' Firmly established on his throne by the successful event of this affair, the king now extended his dominion to the farthest parts of Egypt, which had hitherto been under separate potentates. Elephantine had been the seat of the 5th dynasty, according to Manetho, Memphis of the 6th, 7th, and 8th; Heracleopolis of the 9th and 10th. There is much reason to think that some of these dynasties at least were cotemporaneous; though whether Egypt was at the time of the rise of the Theban sovereignty divided into three kingdoms, is not yet clearly known. Amen-em-ha here says, 'I wrote orders to Abou [Elephantine], commands to Athou.' Abou and Athou are in several passages that I have met with thus conjoined as the most southern and northern points, the Beersheba and Dan of Egypt. *Athou* means, apparently, marshes, the low ground of the Delta, and the word is perhaps preserved in the Coptic *ti-hot*, the name of the region between the Canopic and Pelusiac branches, that is, the whole sea-front of the Delta.

The king says, if I understand him rightly, that he brought the whole of the country into subjection, and that he effected great improvements in agriculture, so that corn and grain were produced in abundance by the help of the Nile as a fertilizing agent, and that there was neither hunger nor thirst in his days. He exterminated wild beasts and suppressed the crocodiles, brought into subjection certain foreign peoples called the Wawaiou and the Madjaiou, and caused others called the Sati, or Satineh, to slink away like cats:—

I built a house adorned with gold, its roof and walls with lapis-lazuli; the floors were laid with stone and metal, the hinges were of bronze [?]; a structure made for eternity, everlasting are its exalta-

tions. I knew every part of it.* There were many devices [?] of passages [or streets]: I knew how to tell, how to find out its treasures, so that no man might know it except thee, Ousertasen; that thy feet might go, thou thyself with thine own eyes behold it; O! thou who wast born in a fortunate hour amongst the illustrious ones who do honour to thee.

This sounds like a description of a labyrinthine treasure-house, of which the secret was to be left to the king's successor alone. It was a successor and namesake of this king, Amen-em-ha III., who was the founder of the famous Labyrinth.

The concluding admonitions relate to the white crown, that of Upper Egypt, and the treasury where the vessels of the sun's boat were kept. Their precise nature I do not understand. The writer adds:—

Finished fortunately in peace. Dedicated to [or by command of] the wise and munificent [or learned] scribe of the white house, Kakabou, and to the scribe of the white house, Oura, [by] the scribe Enna, in the 1st year, the 20th day of Tobi.

The next piece commences thus (Pl. xii. l. *ult.*):—

The beginning of the instructions given by a certain functionary named Sbauf-sa-kharta, to his son named Pepi, when he returned from Khennu [Silsilis], where he had dwelt in the school of literature. The sons of the elders [or chiefs], they who are of Khennu, did not equal [?] him.

The object of the work is to extol the profession of the scribe, whose position is compared with that of men of various other classes. The whole is divided by rubrics into twenty-nine sections, the translation of a few of which shall be attempted:—

Sect. 2. Then he said to him, Behold me how I urge thee; give thy heart to letters. Look at me who am freed from servile works. Surely there is nothing superior to literature. It is like the waters, plunge [?] thyself to the bottom of the pool of letters. Thou shalt find this counsel regarding it, namely, if the scribe is well established in Khennu, he shall not be humiliated.

Sect. 3. Does he dispute [?] with another, he [*i.e.* the other] comes not off successful. Look at business also; verily there is this counsel concerning it: dost thou love letters as thy mother [?], dost thou welcome them unto thee? they are the best preparation for all business. There is not in this world a saying equal to it in profit. When one is a child it is helpful, when one is sent to perform commissions it is of immeasurable [?] utility.†

* A doubtful phrase here, of which I give what appears the general meaning.

† An obscure idiom, of which I only guess at the sense.

Sect. 4. I have not seen the artificer [employed in] commissions, nor the weaver [?] sent [upon important affairs]. I have seen the metal-worker [?] at his labours, at the mouth of his furnace, his fingers like the claws [?] of the crocodile when he hunts after the eggs of fishes.

Sect. 5. Every artificer [mason, carpenter ?] who handles tools of metal is exempt from field-labours [?]; his fields are timber, his products are of metal. At night he is released, but he continues to exert his arms to work; in the night he lights a candle.

Sect. 6. The son of the stone [quarryman, sculptor ?] must seek to carve all kinds of hewn stone. He labours [?] to complete his tasks; when his arms are weary he rests; when he sits at the meals of the sun his knees and his back are worn out with labour [?].

The next trade mentioned I believe to be that of the maker of shields, or of leather harness; and he is said to go about from street to street to search for materials for his trade. 'He strains his arms to fill his belly, like the bees who eat of their burdens.'

Sect. 8, relates to the boatman (?) who navigates to Athu, that he may receive wages (?), and who must submit to the blows of the master of the vessel without a murmur.

Sect. 9, probably relates to the maker of small agricultural implements; section 10, possibly to the builder of walls.

Several following sections are obscure. No. 17, I conjecture to relate to the butcher, or perhaps the embalmer. His fingers are said to be filthy, smelling like a beast or like a fish. He is a person one would not like to meet; his occupation is cutting or slaughtering; his garments are defiled.

Sect. 18, says of the shoemaker, that he is bad at walking; but his productions (?) are lasting. His strength is like that of a beast; his gripe (?) that of the fish Ameskau, the oxyrhynchus.

Sect. 19, relates to the dyers or washers, the people mentioned in the Tale of the Two Brothers as having been involved in vehement controversy about the odour of the wonderful lock. They are said to carry on their business at a pool or washing ground, and to be the neighbours of the crocodile. The overflowing of the Nile, the father of waters, puts an end to their labours.

Sects. 20 and 21, dwell upon the difficulties experienced by the bird-catcher and the fisherman in their several employments.

In section 22, the scribe returns to the praise of his own profession. 'A day in the house of instruction is profitable to thee; its products are eternal as the rocks.'

Sect. 23. 'I tell thee also other words to instruct thee, that

thou mayest understand; that thou mayest not be overcome when thou art entrusted with the execution of affairs. If the soldier receives charges,* he knows not how to execute them; if lapis-lazuli† be placed before a wild beast, he crushes it [as though it were] his food [or, perhaps, he turns his face to his prey in preference].'

Sect. 24, contains cautions as to conducting oneself in the presence of a great man.

Sect. 25, warns against speaking anything offensive to 'the Great Creator.' I believe the sense to be this: 'If the words are spoken in secret, the interior of a man is no secret to him who made it; if the words are spoken boastfully, or openly, he is present with thee though thou be alone.'

Sect. 26, relates to the conduct of the scribe entrusted with the execution of business; section 27, is about telling lies; sections 28 and 29, contain some general eulogiums upon the obedient and industrious scribe, and a promise of much happiness to him.

The work is dedicated in Sall. No. 2, to Kakabou, without any date or author's name; but in the duplicate Anast. No. 7, we find the names of two other officers—a military scribe Ankha (?), and another Meri, joined with that of Kakabou. Enna is named as the author, and the date is the sixth year of the monarch (probably Seti II.), the 23rd day of Paoni.

The third piece in the papyrus, Sallier No. 2, is a hymn entitled 'Adorations of the Nile.' It consists of fourteen verses, distinguished in the usual way by rubrics. It is dedicated to Kakabou, and although the author's name is given in neither copy, we can have little hesitation in assigning it to Enna. Mr. Birch has translated a verse of it in his *Introduction to the Study of the Egyptian Hieroglyphs.* The blessings of the fertilizing Nile, 'the lord of fishes,' are dwelt upon with enthusiasm. As any translation which I could give would be very imperfect, and must contain much guess-work, I will attempt none here.

There remains but one more papyrus of the 19th dynasty to notice, namely, Sallier No. 4, which contains a calendar of good, bad, and indifferent days throughout the year. M. de Rougé

* Egypt. *teb*, comp. Coptic *tebi*, 'præscriptus labor.' The passage is doubtful.

† The substance called here 'lapis-lazuli' (*khesbet*, compare Copt. *kashabel*, חַשְׁמַל *margarita, electrum, orichalcum*) is frequently mentioned in Egyptian texts; it seems to have been regarded by the Egyptians as a most precious substance. There were two sorts, the genuine or Babylonian, and the artificial, believed to have been manufactured by the inhabitants of Cyprus, and regarded as hardly less valuable than the other.

gave a synopsis of the contents in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1854. This is a very remarkable document, as illustrating the superstitions of ancient Egypt. One day is unlucky for setting out on a journey, another for lighting a fire, for eating meat, &c. People born on particular days are destined to die under particular circumstances, as to die rich and honoured, or be killed by a bull or a crocodile.* These notions are connected in some way with the mythology of the Egyptians; and we find throughout allusions to the contests between Horus and Set, or Sutech, the Typhon of the Greeks, which formed a leading feature in the Egyptian legends. In Pl. cxlv. and that which follows, there is a long account of the Typhonic contest, presenting a close resemblance to that related by Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* cap. xix.). Horus and Set are said to have changed themselves into animals of some kind, and in this state to have remained three days. Isis is then said to have thrown chains [?] upon them; whereupon Horus cried with a loud voice, 'I am Horus, thy son.' Isis cried to the chains, 'Bind, bind, [?] my son.' Thoth, the uncle of Horus, is invoked, and a general mêlée ensues, of which all the details are not clear, the manuscript having suffered fractures. Isis appears to take the part of Set, and Horus is said to have rushed upon his mother, furious as a panther, and to have smitten the royal asp or diadem from her head. Thoth interferes with magic spells, transforms Horus, and places a cow's head upon Isis. In Pl. cliii., the white crown, that is the crown of Upper Egypt, is said to have been given to Horus; the red crown, that of Lower Egypt, to Set.† This points to the origin of the mythus, the contest, namely, of two rival races of different origin, those of Upper and Lower Egypt, which seems to have been perpetually renewing itself at different periods of Egyptian history.

The whole of the papyri of which an account has been given belong to the 14th century B.C., doubtless, a highly respectable antiquity. The authors, however, of these productions, with which the reader has now become to a certain extent familiar, were once the latest born of time, and in their own eyes were moderns, behind whom lay a past as respectable to them as that to which we, the ephemeral 'heirs of all the ages,' look back. I have now to present to the reader an author to whom Penta-our and Enna would have bowed as

* It will be recollected that in the Tale of the Two Brothers, the seven Hathors, or sacred cows, upon seeing the newly-created daughter of the gods, at once predicted the death she was to die, but upon what grounds is not said.

† Or, the passage may mean, that on this day the reigning monarch receives the white crown from Horus, the red crown from Set.

a venerable sage, and have acknowledged themselves but children in comparison with him. Rise up, Ptah-hotep, king's son, provincial governor, or lord-lieutenant in the reign of Assa, sovereign of both Egypts. It will be asked, when then did king Assa reign? Perhaps, no more can be certainly affirmed of him than that he belongs to one of the earliest Egyptian dynasties (Lepsius places him in the 7th). Speaking vaguely, he may be placed about 3000 B.C. The work which bears the name of Ptah-hotep, may not, perhaps, be quite so old as this. The papyrus which contains it was obtained by M. Prisse d'Avennes while making explorations among the tombs of the early Theban kings of the 11th dynasty, the ancestors or predecessors of Amen-em-ha, the founder of the 12th dynasty.* In the course of one of these explorations, an Arab employed in the work of excavation, produced a papyrus which he pretended to have got from a third party, but which there is every reason to believe he had found in the tomb under examination. It is in hieratic characters, but extremely different in appearance from those of the 19th dynasty. A little attention, however, shows that the writing is essentially the same, and, any one acquainted with the works of the Ramesside period, will quickly be able to identify the symbols and groups. The forms of the characters are bold and massive, and at first sight appear clumsy; but when the archaic forms have been mastered, the manuscript appears to be not less carefully written than the best of the later epoch, if, indeed, it does not surpass them in this respect. Mr. Heath was the first to call attention to the contents of this papyrus, in an essay published in the *Monthly Review*, 1856, entitled 'On a Manuscript of the Phœnician King Assa, ruling in Egypt earlier than Abraham.' It has since formed the subject of an able *Etude* by M. Chabas, of Châlon-sur-Saône, a distinguished French Egyptologist, published in the *Revue Archéologique* during the present year, to which I am indebted for the extracts I am about to give. Mr. Heath has also lately published a translation of the whole,† containing, some valuable hints, but which will require, as I believe, considerable revision before it can be considered as representing with accuracy the opinions of Ptah-hotep, whose name Mr. Heath converts into Aphobis.

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* The British Museum possesses the coffin of one of these kings, the Louvre another. Their family name was Antef, and they seem to have reigned in great splendour, although their rule was probably confined to Upper Egypt.

† *A Record of the Patriarchal Age, or the Proverbs of Aphobis*, B.C. 1900, now first fully translated by Rev. I. D. Heath. London and Ryde.

The Prisse Papyrus contains eighteen pages of writing, the first two being the conclusion of a work. Then follows an erasure of the size of a page or two, the papyrus having been carefully scraped, as if with the intention of inserting a new text. After this come sixteen pages which comprise a complete work, entitled 'The Instructions * of the Magistrate Ptah-Hotep, under His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Assa, Everliving.'

The author of the fragment on the first two pages, whose name is not given, and who may or not have been Ptah-hotep, says, 'When the king of both Egypts, Our-en, died, then the king of both Egypts, Snefrou, became the king of the whole land. Then was I made a magistrate.' We have here mention of one of the oldest kings of Egypt of whom any contemporaneous monumental traces remain. The tablets of king Snefrou, at Wadi-Megara, in the Sinaitic peninsula, recording his conquests over the Arabs, are thought to be the earliest historical monuments in existence. Whether, however, our papyrus goes back to this date may well be doubted. It may, very probably, be a production of some writer of the court of the Antef kings, of the 11th dynasty, who put his own maxims into the mouth of a sage of former days, just as we find Enna, of the court of Seti II., writing the instructions of Amen-em-ha. There can be little hesitation, however, in recognising, with MM. Chabas and De Rougé, this MS. as the most ancient book in the world, unless, indeed, we except another, said to be of the same epoch, now at Berlin. The contents of both works in the Prisse papyrus, that of which we possess but the last two pages, and that which fortunately remains entire, are much of the same kind. They were collections of proverbs or maxims upon moral and social subjects. The obedience of children to their parents is particularly dwelt upon. I shall borrow a specimen from M. Chabas:—

> The obedience of a docile son is a blessing: he who is obedient walks in his obedience, and he who listens to him becomes obedient. It is good to listen to everything which produces affection; it is the greatest of blessings. The son who attends to the words of his father will become old thereby. God loves obedience; disobedience is hated by God. The heart is a man's master for obedience or for disobedience, but a man through obedience causes his heart to live; to listen to instruction, to love to obey, this is the fulfilment of good precepts. The obedience of a son to his father is joy. A son of whom this can be said is agreeable in all respects,

* M. Chabas translates this word *oraison*, 'prayer;' Mr. Heath, 'a flute tune.' It is the same as that which I have previously shown reason to believe means 'instructions.'

docile and obedient; he of whom this is said has piety in his bowels; he is dear to his father, and his fame is in the mouth of the living who walk upon the earth.

The rebellious one, who obeys not, accomplishes nothing at all; he sees wisdom in ignorance, virtue in vice. Every day he commits all sorts of frauds with boldness, and therein he lives as one dead. His . . . . . are contradiction; he feeds therein. That which the wise know to be death is his life every day. He goes on his way, loaded with curses daily.

A son, teachable in God's service, will be happy in consequence of his obedience; he will grow to be old, he will find favour; he will speak in like manner to his children. Precious for a man is the discipline of his father. Every one will respect it, as he himself has done. That which he says to his children concerning it, oh! let their children repeat it, feeding on that which proceeds from thy mouth, the true seed of life to thy children.'

Ptah-hotep concludes his instructions by saying:—

It is thus that I would gain for thee health of body and the king's peace, in all circumstances, and that thou mayest pass the years of this life without deceit. I have become an ancient of the earth, I have passed a hundred and ten years of life by grace of the king, and the approbation of the ancients, fulfilling my duty towards the king, in the place of their favour.

The scribe adds—'Finished from beginning to end, as it is found in the original.'

With this venerable utterance of primeval wisdom, I close the present account of the Hieratic papyri. Enough has been given, I believe, to convince the reader that we have in them something more than the mere dry bones of the Egyptian language, and to prove their importance towards the completion of our knowledge of this wonderful people. The value, however, of the monumental and sepulchral records must not be underrated. These have yielded the most brilliant results to the labours of antiquaries. Through their assistance the names of whole dynasties of forgotten kings have been recovered, and great progress made towards the completion of the chronicles of Egypt, of which the fragments of Manetho give us but a bare and defaced outline. The late researches of M. Mariette in the Serapeum, or tomb of the Apis gods, have been particularly fruitful in materials for this purpose. From them M. Lepsius has restored the 22nd and some part of the 21st dynasties. The annals of the reign of Tothmes III. on the walls of Karnak, which have been successfully translated by Mr. Birch, are a noble record of the splendour of the Egyptian monarchy at the commencement of the 18th dynasty. A treaty of alliance between Rameses II. and the king of the Hittites, engraved in one of the Theban

palaces, is a monument of no common interest. One small tablet, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Impériale, contains the memorial of an event of so curious a nature that I cannot refrain from introducing an account of it here. The tablet in question is engraved in the *Monumens Egyptiens* of M. Prisse, by whom it was brought from Egypt. The meaning of its contents was first discovered by Mr. Birch, who published a translation in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1852. This translation has been recently carefully reviewed by M. de Rougé,* who does not materially alter the views put forth by Mr. Birch, so that we have the authority of these two eminent Egyptologists for our belief in the soundness of the interpretation given. The inscription belongs to the reign of one of the kings of the 20th dynasty, the whole of whom bore the family name of Rameses, but which of them in dynastic order is not clearly known. According, therefore, to the chronological views which have been assumed, it was engraved during some part of that period when Israel was ruled by Judges. At the top of the tablet is a vignette representing two arks or shrines, one borne on the shoulders of twelve, the other of four, priests; these arks belong to two different gods, both named Chons, but with different titles. The inscription, after the usual flourish of royal names, relates, that when his majesty the king of Egypt was in Nahar (probably Mesopotamia), collecting tribute, the princes of the land came to offer him presents. Among them came the king of a country named Bakhtan, who offered his eldest daughter as a present. The Egyptian monarch was graciously pleased to accept the princess, who was very beautiful; and he took her to Egypt and made her his principal queen. In the 23rd year, on the 22nd of Epiphi (the Egyptians love to be exact in their dates, though, unluckily, we can seldom derive any direct chronological information from them), an envoy arrived from the king of Bakhtan, bringing presents to the queen. The usual compliments having been terminated, the envoy informed the king that the principal object of his mission was to ask advice and assistance for the princess Benteresh, the queen's younger sister, who was afflicted with some disease in her limbs, and he requested that a wise man of Egypt might be sent to see her. The king summoned his physicians, and ordered them to choose one of their number to visit the princess. A royal scribe named Tet-em-heb is chosen, who immediately proceeds to Bakhtan. On arriving there, the wise man instantly found the princess to be possessed by a spirit or

* In the *Revue Asiatique* of 1856 and 1857. The review is not yet complete.

demon, and declared the cure to be beyond his art. Upon this the king of Bakhtan sent another embassy to request that a god might be sent. The king of Egypt applies to one of the gods named Chons—apparently the elder or superior of the two—asking his consent that the other may be allowed to go to Bakhtan to work the princess' cure. The two gods confer together, and the result is that the younger Chons is despatched to Bakhtan, borne in his ark by priests, and with a numerous retinue. It is mentioned that the journey from Egypt to Bakhtan occupied a year and five months. Upon the god being brought to the princess, the spirit who was in possession of her instantly acknowledged his inferiority:—

> Then said the spirit which was in her, to Chons, the mighty one of Thebes, 'Thou art welcome, great god, smiter of rebels, Bakhtan is thy land, its inhabitants are thy servants; I am thy servant. I will go to the place which I came from, in submission to thee, that thou mayest approach her. Let the king command a feast [of reconciliation] between us.'

The god assented to this through the medium of his priest. A great feast was accordingly made, and, in the presence of the king of Bakhtan and his warriors, who were awe-struck by the solemnity, the spirit departed whither it pleased him, leaving the god in peaceable possession of the princess. The king of Bakhtan was so delighted with this success, that he declined to allow the god to return to Egypt. Accordingly, Chons remained three years, four months, and five days in Bakhtan. At this time the king as he lay upon his bed had a dream, in which he beheld the god issuing from his ark in the form of a hawk, and spreading his wings as though to return to Egypt, in which he was opposed by some other bird, apparently an owl.* The priest of Chons, to whom the dream was communicated, declared that it indicated the impatience of the god to return to Egypt, and the king of Bakhtan consented to let him depart. The god was sent back with magnificent gifts, the whole of which on his arrival he presented to the elder Chons, keeping back nothing. The return took place in the 33rd year of the king's reign, on the 19th day of Mechir.

The land of Bakhtan cannot be identified with certainty. Mr. Birch offers several conjectures; he thinks it most probable that Bashan is intended. M. de Rougé inclines to Bagistan or Behistoun. It is worth remarking that an account of the emigration of an Egyptian god to the East has been preserved by Macrobius, *Sat.* lib. i. cap. 23. In this case,

* There is some doubt of the meaning of this part of the inscription.

however, the god did not return to Egypt again. Macrobius says:—

> The Assyrians celebrate with great ceremony, in the city of Heliopolis, the worship of the sun, under the name of Jove. The image of the god was brought from a city of Egypt, also called Heliopolis, in the reign of Senemures, or Senepos. It was first brought to Assyria by Opias, the ambassador of the Assyrian king Deleboris, and by Egyptian priests, the chief of whom was named Partemetis. After having been for sometime kept among the Assyrians, it was conveyed to Heliopolis.

I commend king Deleboris to the notice of the investigators of Assyrian antiquities. The Egyptian names are evidently corrupt, but the passage is well worthy of attention, and may possibly hereafter help to furnish a point of historical contact.

The labours of Egyptologists during the last thirty years have been vigorous and well-directed, yet how much remains to be done before Egypt's 'place in the world's history' not chronologically merely, can be defined and appreciated. The names of her kings have been collected from the stones of their palaces and tombs with unwearied industry, and now the *Königbuch* of Lepsius presents lines of monarchs more interminable than that which the witches' cauldron disclosed to Macbeth; but for us the most of them are but ghostly nonentities,—as shadows they come, and so depart. The works of Sir Gardner Wilkinson are in everybody's hands; and here the Egyptians as painted by themselves move and gesticulate before us; yet how silently! Who has not felt, in surveying the minute details of Egyptian life which those interesting volumes present, the wish that these people could speak for themselves and tell us something of their thoughts and feelings.

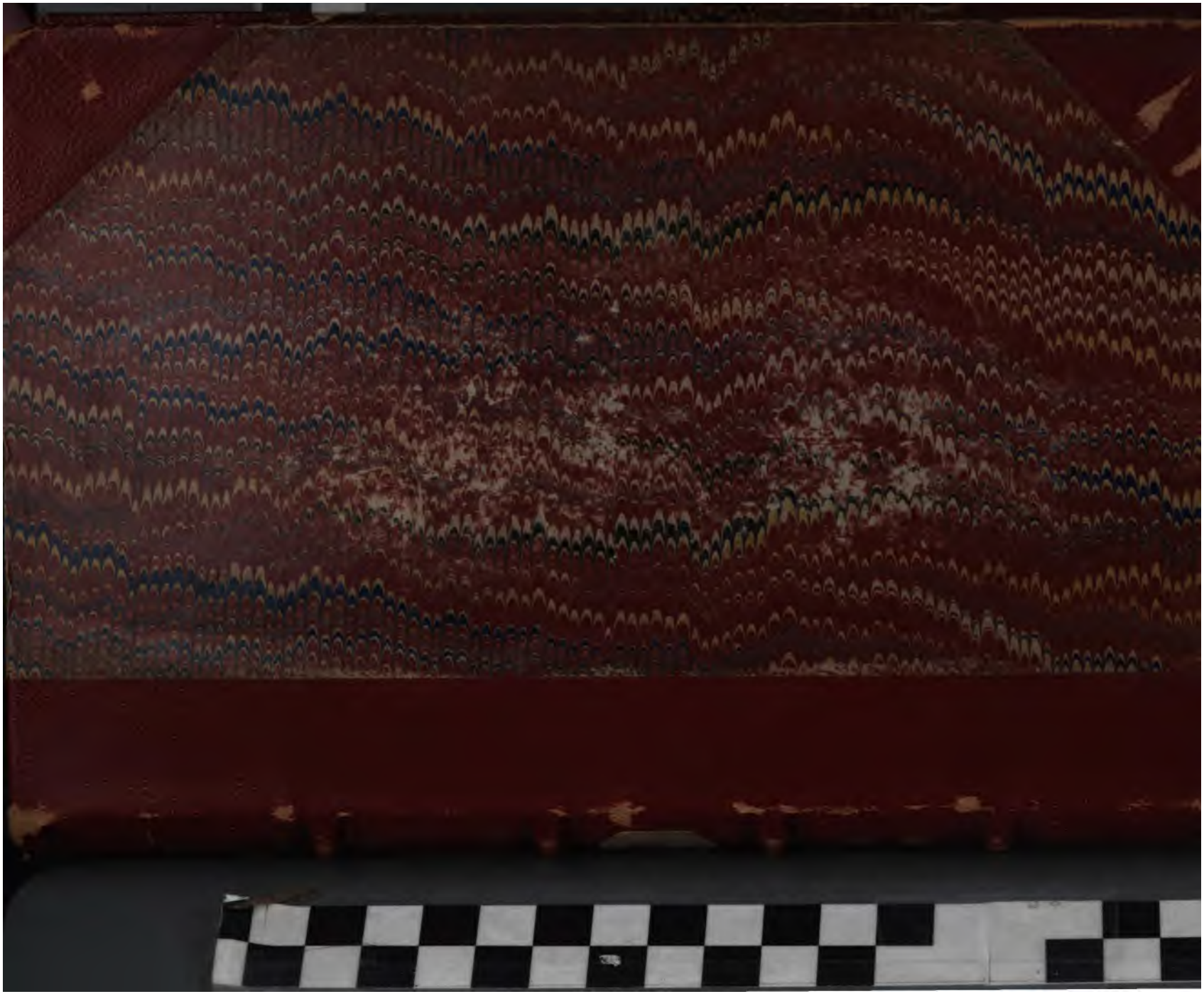
It is through the hieratic papyri that we once more hear the voice of these ancients, speaking more or less intelligibly, and as man with man. *The heart of Satou is found.* By-and-bye these sepulchral utterances will be plainer to us than they are yet. Penta-our and Enna will yet walk and talk again, 'as they did upon the earth,' according to the aspiration found in every page of the ritual. But patience and labour are still required before the vivification is complete. The crying want now is for more papyri. It is true that the greater part of those which we already possess have been but imperfectly read, but every additional one increases the chances and means of discovery. A few more in the style of the Two Brothers would be of immense value. And some such surely must exist, either above or below the ground. It is to be feared that an enormous destruction has taken place of these

fragile records. The Anastasi, Sallier, and D'Orbiney papyri probably all came from a single tomb, and are the remnants of a large collection. What has become of the rest? At one time mere ignorance and carelessness on the part of the Arabs, who are usually the finders of these treasures, caused their destruction. At present these people are well aware of the commercial value of papyri, and unluckily this knowledge is accompanied by another cause of ruin; for their desire of making the most of their commodities, leads them to break up the manuscript into fragments. And so perish the world's records!

Nile tourists would do well to remember how infinitely greater, Europeanly speaking, is the value of a perfect papyrus, whether in hieratic, Coptic, or Greek, than that of one torn or cut down the middle, so as to yield only the ends or beginnings of the lines, which is the condition in which some have been brought over.

Those who already possess hieratic papyri of a literary, not funereal, character, cannot be too strongly urged to make them public. It is possible that in this land of travellers, undreamed-of treasures may be lying in private cabinets.

A considerable impediment to Egyptological inquiry exists in this country in the want of hieroglyphical types. The *savans* of France and Germany are able to publish their investigations with complete hieroglyphical illustrations, both Paris and Berlin possessing excellent collections of types. London has nothing of the kind. No hieratic types, however, have yet been attempted in any country. They might be used with as much facility as the hieroglyphical ones, one good text being taken as the standard for the formation of the letters and symbols, to which all the scrawls of the less careful writers should be reduced. The D'Orbiney papyrus is the obvious model to be taken. This alone would not indeed furnish the whole circle of hieratic symbols, but the wanting ones might be easily supplied from other good texts, such as Anastasi No. 1, 4, and 5, and Sallier 2. How small a drop of the waste capital of England would it take to carry such a design into execution!

C. W. G.

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